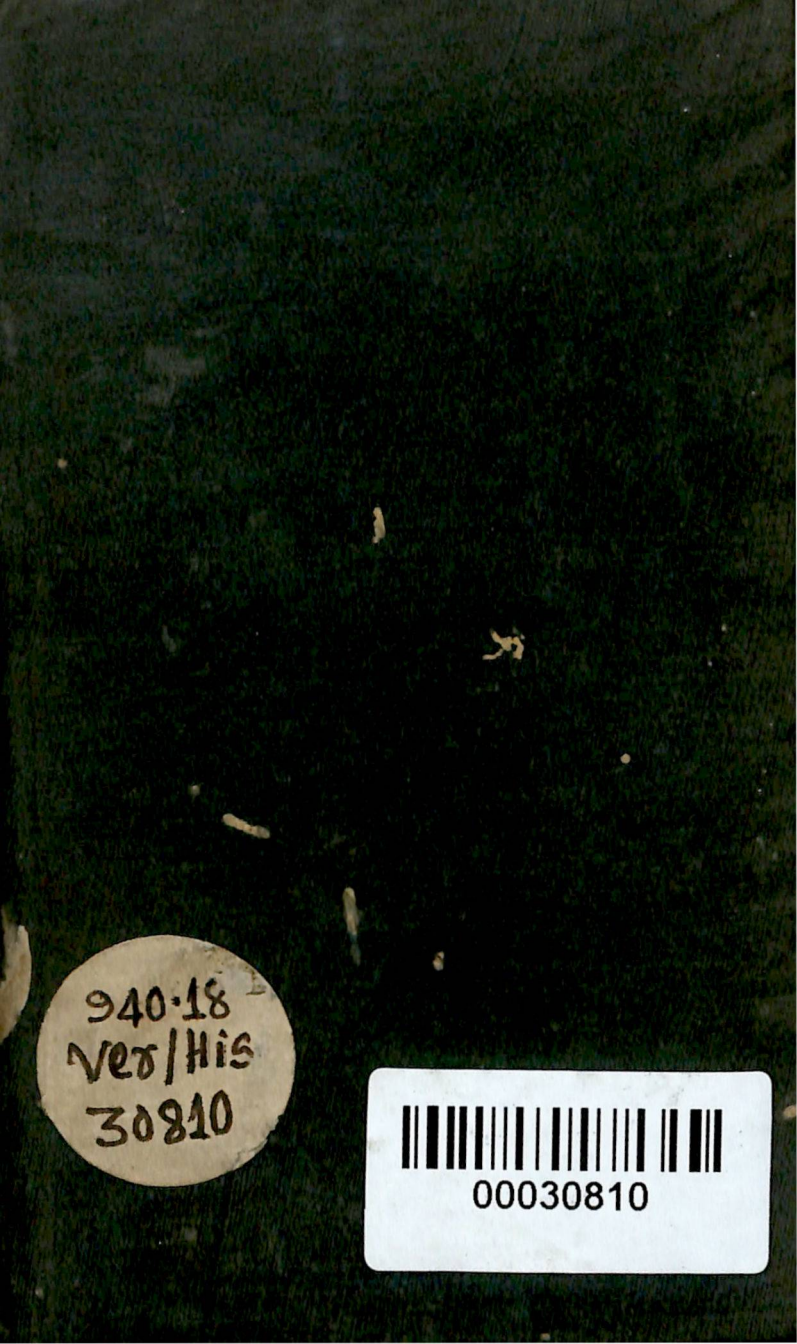

940·18
Ver/His
30810

00030810

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

Monſ. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

VOLUME IV.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by R. FLEMING,

For A. KINCAID and A. DONALDSON, YAIR and FLEMING, and W. GRAY, Bookſellers.

M.DCC.LVII.

30810

00030810

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK X.

THE grand maſter had no ſooner given the neceſſary orders for the defence of the iſland of Malta, but he croſſed to that of Goza: he went all over it, viſited thoſe places where the corſairs might make deſcents, gave orders for the building of retrenchments, brought ſeveral pieces of cannon, and ammunition and proviſions into the caſtle, left a company of foot in it; and, after having exhorted the inhabitants to be inviolably true to the order, he returned back to Malta, and immediately turned all his thoughts upon Tripoli: that city of Africa,[a] which, as

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM. 1530.

[a] Fazelius de rebus Siculis. l. 1.

as has been already ſeen, the order was ſo unwilling to meddle with, by reaſon of its weakneſs and diſtance.

WE before obſerved,* that the chevalier Sangueſſe had been appointed governor of it by the commiſſioners, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the order. The grand maſter, at the ſame time that he ſent him a new reinforcement, confirmed him in that poſt, which could hardly have been filled up by a more worthy perſonage: he was an antient knight, who had ſignalized himſelf in the laſt ſiege of Rhodes, by a great number of heroic actions, and who, by fighting under the orders of the grand maſter, during ſo long and bloody a ſiege, had acquired the art of preſerving ſuch places as he ſhould be intruſted with. This commander, ſeeing himſelf greatly ſtraitned in Tripoli by other neighbouring cities and towns, all of them inhabited by infidels, and people that had been formerly ſubject to the king of Tunis, often ſent different parties againſt theſe Africans, who made incurſions into their territories, and ravaged the country.

AMONG theſe ſeveral cities, inhabited by Mahometans, Gienzor and Tachiro, or Tachora, had withdrawn themſelves for ſome years from the dominion of the kings of Tunis: the garriſon of Tripoli uſed frequently to take ſeveral priſoners, and make a conſiderable booty, even to the very gates of thoſe cities. The inhabitants of Gienzor, wearied out with the continual attempts of theſe troubleſome neighbours, made a treaty with them; and Sangueſſe, with the grand maſter's conſent, and in conſideration of a certain ſum, agreed upon between them, granted them a peace, and opened a free trade on that ſide.

THE lord of Tachora, being more powerful than thoſe of Gienzor, and maſter of a good port, would not demand as hear a word mentioned of a tribute. The territory of this *check*, or lord, of Tachora, on that ſide which lay towards Tripoli, conſiſted in a large plain, which extended itſelf within four leagues of that city towards the eaſt. This ſpacious plain was full of villages,

* Boſio, t. 3. l. 5.

lages, which furniſhed their lord with a pretty conſiderable number of very brave horſemen and musketeers, whoſe chief buſineſs was robbing: theſe often engaged with the Malteſe, and each party laid ambuſcades for his neighbours. Things paſſed in this manner at firſt, with little loſs on either ſide, if we except the death of the chevalier de Harlai, of the language of France, occaſioned by an exceſs of courage, and too little caution; he being cut to pieces, with all the ſoldiers under his command, by the Tachorizins, who had lain in ambuſh for him.

WE ſhould not have been ſo particular in our account of theſe inroads, ſo common between people that border upon one another, and who are of a different religion, had not theſe petty wars afterwards given riſe to others, of much greater conſequence, and in which the reader will obſerve, that the arms of the knights of St. John were no leſs ſerviceable to the princes of Chriſtendom in Africa, than they had been before in Aſia, and during the time that the order reſided in Paleſtine, and afterwards at Rhodes.

'TWAS now ſome time ſince the civil wars being kindled in the territories of Algiers and Tunis, the Ottoman Turks, or rather the corſairs, under their name, in order to make their advantage of theſe diviſions, had ſeized upon ſeveral places ſituated upon the coaſts of Barbary; ſeveral knights, and thoſe even who had diſcovered the greateſt diſinclination for taking upon themſelves the defence of Malta, propoſed, at that time, to the grand maſter, to turn all the efforts of the arms of the order on that ſide; and they repreſented to him, that it would be impoſſible for the order to preſerve ſo weak a place as Tripoli was, and particularly as it had no ground belonging to it, unleſs they covered it with new conqueſts, and an extent of ground that might furniſh ſubſiſtence for the garriſon. This project was not without ſome foundation; but not to mention, that the grand maſter, before engaging himſelf in this war, was very deſirous of letting theſe infidels weaken and deſtroy one another; he, beſides,

had devoted all his thoughts to a deſign which had been formed for many years, and from the ſucceſs of which, he promiſed himſelf, that the order would draw advantages that were much more conſiderable.

MODON, at this time, engroſſed all his thoughts; it was the ſole object of his deſires, and every thing that might bring him nearer to Rhodes, appeared like another Rhodes in his eyes, or, at leaſt, as a means that might one day make it a more eaſy conqueſt: ſo that he reſolved, before he would abſolutely fix his reſidence in Malta, or engage his order to lay out thoſe immenſe ſums that muſt neceſſarily be employed, before that iſland, which was open on all ſides, could be put in a ſtate of defence, to endeavour to ſurpriſe Modon, by the help of the intelligence he had in that place.

In this view,* he took into the order's pay a good number of ſoldiers, who had lately ſerved at the ſiege of Florence. This ſiege the pope and emperor had undertaken in concert; and theſe princes, after having made themſelves maſters of that great city, had reſtored the Medicis to their authority in it. The chevalier Salviati, who was related to that pope, and prior of Rome, by the grand maſter's command, brought theſe forces to Malta, on board ſix gallies, well armed, three of which belonged to the order; the viceroy of Sicily had lent the fourth; and James Grimaldi, a Genoeſe lord, and an excellent ſeaman, had hired two others, which belonged to him, at the rate of 1000 crowns per month, and they agreed that he ſhould command them in perſon, as long as this expedition ſhould laſt.

THE grand maſter, not being able to leave Malta, as its chief ſtrength lay in his preſence, named the prior of Rome general of the enterpriſe; and the chevalier de Boniface, bailif of Manoſque, was to command the fleet, during the time that the general ſhould be aſhore, and employed in beſieging Modon. Theſe gallies were to be accompanied with brigantines of a different bulk, with men and ammunition on board; and two trading veſſels,

* Boſio, t. 3. l. 6.

veſſels, loaded with planks, which they intended to employ for the execution of the enterpriſe, were entruſted to John Scandali, a Greek Chriſtian, of the iſland of Zante, and ſon to one of the two renegadoes; and to Janni Necolo, who was alſo a Greek Chriſtian; both of whom were well known at Modon, by the daily traffic which they carried on to that place.

BESIDES a great number of knights, who went on board for this expedition, the viſcount Cigale, a famous privateer, and brother to the cardinal of that name, offered his ſervice to the grand maſter; and accordingly joined the fleet of the order with two gallies well armed, that were his own, and which he commanded in perſon.

BEFORE this armament ſet ſail from the ports, ſeveral councils were held upon the execution of this enterpriſe; when, after a variety of projects, the grand maſter concluded upon this, that the gallies, brigantines, and other ſmall veſſels, ſhould lie hid along the coaſts of the little iſland of Sapienza, which lay over againſt Modon; that towards the cloſe of the evening, they ſhould bring up two trading veſſels, freighted, in outward appearance, with timber and planks, under which a conſiderable number of knights, and brave ſoldiers ſhould lie concealed; that young Scandali, under pretence of deſiring to come with his ſhip to an anchor, and trading there, and in concert with his father, ſhould advance to the foot of the tower of the mole, which was about 500 paces from the place, and that he ſhould ſeize upon it: that young Scandali's aſſociate ſhould go to another ſide, at the entrance of the harbour, when, after having been viſited, for form's ſake, by Quir Calojan, the other renegado, the director of the cuſtoms, he ſhould retire in the dark to his houſe; that the next day at the opening of the gate, the ſoldiers, which lay concealed in the two brigantines, ſhould unite in a body, in order to make themſelves maſters of that gate; that a cannon ſhould immediately be fired, to give notice of it to the general, who ſhould leave the iſland of Sapienza that very moment,

ſhould put his forces on board, and throw himſelf into the place through that gate which ſhould be ſeized.

THE prior of Rome, who was at the head of this expedition, ſet ſail from the port of Malta on the 17th of Auguſt; and after having ſailed pro-
1531. 17. Aug. pitiouſly for ſeveral days together, would not put in at the iſle of Sapienza, but in the night time. He hid his little fleet in the ſafeſt road of the whole iſland, and which was leaſt expoſed; when, having taken down the flags and maſts of his gallies, he ſent Statigogulo and Marquet, the two Rhodians above mentioned, to Modon, to ſee whether or no the two renegadoes had not changed their inclinations, and whether they were ſtill maſters of their poſts, and capable of keeping their word. The two Rhodians went into Modon diſguiſed like merchants, ſaw the two renegadoes; when, having found them fixed and reſolved, immoveable, and even impatient to ſignalize themſelves in the execution of that enterpriſe, they engaged them to go over with them into the iſland of Sapienza, to confer with the prior of Rome upon that ſubject. This general gave them a very civil reception, and after having confirmed to them, in the grand maſter's name, the promiſes of a ſplendid reward, which the two Rhodians had made to them, he ſtarted ſeveral difficulties, to all which they returned very ſatisfactory anſwers. They added, that all lay in the diſpatch that ſhould be made in the execution; and in order to make Salviati reſolve upon it at once, they repreſented to him, that the ſole reaſon of the order's failing in its attempt upon Rhodes, was owing to its dilatorineſs and exceſs of caution: but this general, fearing a double intelligence, and leſt thoſe Greeks, after having renounced the faith, ſhould not ſcruple to betray and deliver him up to the Turks, he required them, before he engaged himſelf further in that affair, to carry to Modon the commander Sciateſe, a Roman; the chevalier de Broc, a Frenchman, of the language of Provence; and ſignior James Grimaldi; in order, that as they would be upon the ſpot, they would all three be able to judge whether the

the enterprize might be undertaken with ſafety, and afterwards agree among themſelves upon the final meaſures for the landing of the troops and the attacking the place.

THESE two renegadoes, in company with the knights, diſguiſed like merchants, arrived in the port of Modon in the evening, as if they were returned from the iſland of Sapienza, upon ſome affairs relating to their traffic. Scandali, the father, who commanded in the tower of the mole, under pretence of giving theſe pretended merchants a ſupper there, ſhewed them how eaſily they might make themſelves maſters of it; and, with the ſame view, they went and lay at the other renegadoes houſe, which was near the city-gate, and of which he had entrance free, in quality of director of the cuſtoms. The knights appeared ſatisfied with the diſpoſition of the two Greeks; and then the ſon of Scandali, a Chriſtian, and who, as was already obſerved, would not apoſtatiſe as his father had done, brought them back the next day to the iſland of Sapienza.

THE knights, at their return, declared to the general, that their opinion was, the two renegadoes were ſincere in the affair; but that after all, a man could not be too cautious and circumſpect, when he had to deal with traitors; that they even met with great difficulties in the execution of that enterpriſe; that notwithſtanding Scandali commanded in the tower of the mole, yet the janizaries, who were upon guard there, would not fail, upon the leaſt ſtir that ſhould be made, to take up arms againſt them; that upon the noiſe, which is unavoidable in occaſions of that nature, and on the notice which the governor of Modon would receive of it, he would immediately order all the city gates to be ſhut; and that the garriſon and the inhabitants would ſoon be able to repulſe all ſuch as ſhould attack them. Theſe difficulties, and even thoſe which in ſuch like occaſions can ſcarce ever be foreſeen, ſuſpended for ſome time the deſire the general had of attempting this enterpriſe. Young Scandali, who ſaw through part of the general's ſuſpicions, told him that the only reaſon

of

of his father's ſending for him from Zante, and making him privy to that deſign, was to put him into his hands by way of hoſtage, till ſuch time as he ſhould have performed his promiſe, and that he deſired no other than to continue on board his gallies; that as for the Janizaries in the tower of the mole, who were very few in number, his father would find a method to ſend them at a diſtance, under various pretences, and that he reſolved to make them drunk, and by that means prevent their being able to oppoſe the entrance of the knights into the tower; moreover, that his father and his aſſociate never intended to carry the place by open force; that it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed any other way than by ſurpriſe; that his only fear was, that the ſuſpicion of the general had been owing to the great eaſe with which it might be executed. In fine, this young man, whoſe breaſt glowed with zeal and bravery, ſhewed them how eaſy, as well as advantageous it would be to make their conqueſt ſure, ſo that the whole council reſolved to continue no longer in ſuſpenſe; and accordingly ſent young Scandali to his father, to aſſure him that they would make their attempt that very evening.

WITH this view, the general embarked ſeveral knights, and a conſiderable number of ſoldiers on board two feluccas, who were hid under the planks, with which thoſe veſſels ſeemed to be freighted, and which were deſigned to aſſiſt the troops that were on board the gallies in their landing. Stefi Marquet the Rhodian, who had been ſo ſerviceable to Boſio in drawing up the plan of that conſpiracy, was on board the firſt brigantine, which, in thoſe days was called a *griph*, and advanced to the entrance of the port in the evening. Calejan, who had the guard of it, in quality of director of the cuſtoms, pretending not to know him, went on board his ſhip; when, after having viſited it for form's ſake, and to prevent all ſuſpicion, he made his report thereof to the governor, telling him that it was a ſmall veſſel loaded with planks, which he ſaid a merchant

chant was coming to ſell to ſome workmen in the city; upon which the governor gave him leave to admit her in.

THE men who were hid in this felucca, in the diſguiſe of ſailors, befriended by the darkneſs, and under the pretence of their being obliged to ſet out very early the next morning, put aſhore theſe planks, and other pieces of wood, with which they formed a kind of bridge oppoſite to that gate of the city which they intended to ſurpriſe, in order to aſſiſt the landing of the forces that were on board the gallies; after which they retired into the houſe of the renegado, where they ſpent the reſt of the night.

YOUNG Scandali, who was in the other felucca, came much about the ſame time, and caſt anchor at the point of the tower; and as his father commanded in it, and he himſelf came frequently thither from the iſle of Zante, where he inhabited; the Janizaries of the tower, with whom he was very familiar, made no ſcruple to admit him, and accordingly he entered into this tower in company with eight other Greeks in a Turkiſh dreſs, who ſpoke that language fluently, and who pretended to be ſoldiers belonging to the garriſons of Lepanto and Patras. His father, as had been concerted, diſperſed ſome of his guards upon different commiſſions, and invited the reſt to ſupper. In the midſt of their gaiety and good cheer, they gave them an excellent Greek wine to drink, which, he ſaid, his ſon had brought him in his felucca. The real Turks, who thirſted after that liquor with greater eagerneſs, as they were prohibited to drink it by their law, poured it down in great quantities, and were ſoon drunk. The Greek Chriſtians, diſguiſed like Janizaries, taking their advantage of that lethargic drowſineſs that uſually attends upon drunkenneſs, ſet into the tower all thoſe knights and ſoldiers that lay concealed in the brigantine; when they cut the throats of ſome of the Turks, bound others, made themſelves maſters of the tower, all which was done during the ſilence of the night, without the leaſt noiſe, inſomuch that the governor,

whoſe

whoſe houſe was about five hundred paces from the tower, had not the leaſt notice of it.

ON the other ſide, the renegado Calojan, at day-break, and at the opening of the gate, preſented himſelf at it with ſome knights, diſguiſed like ſailors, and who had ſpent the night in his houſe; they made a halt at the gate, in order to give time to the other ſoldiers, who were hid in the two brigantines, to advance forwards; when immediately the two companies joined in a body, making in all about 300 men. Upon their approach, the pretended ſailors, who ſtood at the entry of the port, drew their ſwords, fell upon the guards, cut ſome of them to pieces; when the main body advancing up, ſeized on the gate, and imagined the city was their own. Immediately a cannon was fired by way of ſignal to the general, that he ſhould advance immediately with his gallies; during which, the Chriſtian forces, inſtead of marching directly up to the caſtle, where the governor had withdrawn himſelf, leaving only a guard at the city gate, they threw themſelves into thoſe houſes that ſtood neareſt to it, in order to plunder them; they here committed all the outrages uſual on ſuch like occaſions, and in places taken by ſurpriſe, or carried by ſtorm and ſword in hand. The inhabitants, in order to ſhun the firſt fury of the ſoldiers, fled for ſhelter into the caſtle, when the governor put weapons into their hands; and having advice that there was but a very ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and that the greateſt part of them were roving up and down in ſearch of plunder, he made a ſally at the head of his garriſon, and of the inhabitants, charged briskly theſe plunderers, who were diſperſed, and killed ſeveral at the firſt onſet: when their common danger uniting them again in one body, they rallied, made head, and endeavoured to maintain themſelves in their ſeveral poſts, till ſuch time as the gallies ſhould come up. Both parties fought with equal fury; the knights, who ſaw every moment the braveſt of their troops drop, gave themſelves over for loſt, when no reinforcement came: but they did not know that a very high and contrary wind

wind had hindered the general from hearing the ſignal; inſomuch that it was noon before he had notice, by a bark, which young Scandali diſpatched to him, that the knights were got into the city, and engaged with the garriſon of the caſtle. Immediately he haſted to the place, and with as much ſpeed as the crew of his gallies could poſſibly make, landed without the leaſt obſtacle; and after having, according to the rules of war, left a body of men under the command of the chevalier d'Humieres to guard the gallies, and in the tower of the mole, he advanced at the head of the body under his command, joined thoſe who were fighting with the governor and the garriſon; when immediately his bravery and the ſuperior number of his forces, ſoon obliged him to take refuge in the caſtle. As it would be impoſſible to force him there without artillery, he ſent for ſeveral pieces of cannon from on board his gallies; but whilſt they were employing themſelves in fetching it from thence, the governor was ſuccoured: for no ſooner had he ſeen the firſt body of knights in the place, but he diſpatched couriers to the neighbouring cities, and to the governor of the province, to give him notice of the deſcent and attack of the Chriſtians. Happily for the governor of the caſtle, the ſangiac of the province was at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, which, by Solyman's order, he was immediately to march to the frontiers of Hungary, where the grand ſeignior was then making war. The ſangiac, who was encamped not far from Modon, at the firſt news he heard of the enterpriſe of the knights, drew out ſome troops of horſe for that place, where they arrived with the utmoſt diligence, and were let into the caſtle by a gate that lay towards the country, at the ſame time that the Turkiſh general advanced himſelf at the head of 6000 foot. The governor of the place having ordered his cavalry to diſmount, in order to bring them ſooner to an engagement, ſallied out at their head, and charged the knights with his whole garriſon. Though the prior of Rome ſaw that the infidels were reinforced, he nevertheleſs ſtood their attack with the greateſt courage; when cutting to

pieces the braveſt of his horſemen, and taking ſeveral of them priſoners, he forced the reſt to ſhelter themſelves behind the fortifications of the caſtle. Nevertheleſs, being informed by the priſoners he had taken, that the ſangiac would infallibly be at Modon before ſun ſet, and not having forces enough to make head againſt him, and beſiege the place in form, and as he had not expected ſucceſs in his enterpriſe but from the advantage of a ſurpriſe, he ſaw himſelf, ſo contrary to his deſires, reduced to the neceſſity of returning on board his ſhips, which gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs.

BUT before he commanded a retreat to be ſounded, he, after having blocked up the ports of the caſtle by a good retrenchment, abandoned the whole city to be plundered by the ſoldiers. The richeſt houſes in it were now become their prey; nay, the knights themſelves, and the principal officers, had a hand in this not over honourable, though profitable employment. There is no expreſſing the riches they carried off out of this city; but that which gave the inhabitants ſtill greater pain, was their tranſporting on board their gallies or ſhips, upwards of 800 married women and maidens, whom they made priſoners and ſlaves. Among theſe ladies of Modon, chance having thrown a young Turkiſh woman of exquiſite beauty into the hands of the viſcount of Cicala, he carried her to Meſſina, had her baptized, made her his wife, and had a ſon by her, Scipio Cicala by name, whom a variety of adventures brought afterwards to Conſtantinople, when turning Mahometan, and ſignalizing himſelf by his bravery, he attained to the dignity of general, when he revenged the Turks for the ſack of Modon. The knights abandoned the city a little before ſun-ſet, and embarked with all the forces, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, or ſuſtaining the leaſt loſs, if we do not look upon the expence of that armament as a very conſiderable one; which was not any way compenſated by the plunder of the city of Modon, that fell only into private hands.

THE

THE grand maſter, upon the return of his gallies, was informed of the ill ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, which gave him great uneaſineſs; but as his courage had been always ſuperior to the moſt unhappy revolutions of fortune, he from that time judged, that providence had decreed that his order ſhould ſettle at Malta, and thereupon turned all his thoughts to the fortifying of that iſland, and to put it in a condition to brave the inſults and incurſions of the corſairs.

WHILST he was entirely taken up with theſe cares, ſo worthy a ſovereign prince, there happened another accident, which put his patience and reſolution to a freſh trial. Baltazar Walkirk, biſhop of Malta, being dead, the emperor was to name the perſon who was to fill that dignity; and the order, purſuant to the treaty made with that prince, was to propoſe three eccleſiaſticks to him, one of which at leaſt was to be choſen from among his ſubjects. The grand maſter and council preſented to the viceroy of Sicily, brother Pontus Laurencin, of the language of Auvergne; brother Thomas Boſio, an Italian, and vice chancellor of the order; and brother Dominic Cubelle, of the language of Arragon, and and the emperor's vaſſal. The grand maſter, to recompence in the perſon of Thomas Boſio the great merit and important ſervices which the commander his brother had done to the order, would have been very well pleaſed that the emperor's choice had fallen upon him; and accordingly acquainted the pope with his views. This pontiff, to whom the commander in his lifetime had been one of his privy chamberlains, and of whoſe ſervices he had always retained a grateful remembrance, wrote to this prince upon that ſubject; and not only told his embaſſador, that he ſhould think himſelf very much obliged to the emperor, if he would declare in Boſio's favour, but alſo gave orders to ſignior Salviati, who was his relation, and the prior of Rome's father, to write in his name to cardinal Cam pejus, who was at that time in the emperor's court, in quality of legate *à latere*, to be very earneſt in ſoliciting for that nomination. The emperor gave a very agree-

able reception to these good offices of his holiness, and ordered his embassador, who resided at Rome, to assure him, that he would give him in a little time all the satisfaction he could wish for, with respect to the bishoprick of Malta: but this prince, who never bestowed his favours but with the utmost circumspection, whether it were that he intended to obtain several others from the pope, or that he had not time to attend to this affair, he deferred the nomination of Bosio. But at last, after he had engaged the pope and the order in a league against the Turks, he then, and not before, declared publickly the nomination of Bosio to the bishoprick of Malta; when he gave the instrument of it to the embassador of the order, who resided at that time at his court.

THIS minister being very sensible that this nomination would give the grand master no small satisfaction, dispatched a courier with the instrument of it. The grand master received it with great demonstrations of joy, which he divided with the bishop elect, to whom he gave the first account he had received of his nomination to that dignity. All the knights that were at that time in the island, congratulated one another; and as the priesthood and the empire had equally conspired in this election, they looked upon that affair as happily ended. The grand master, in order to have it sealed as it were, and completely concluded, would have Bosio take out his bulls himself, and get himself consecrated at Rome. He likeways had him accompanied by an embassador extraordinary, whom he dispatched to the pope, to thank him for the continuation of his favour and kindness to the order; and the embassador was moreover ordered at the same time to present the bishop elect to his holiness.

BOTH of these being arrived at Rome desired to be admitted to an audience of the pope, which they obtained. The embassador, when he presented Bosio to him, told him, that he was ordered by the grand master and council to thank him for all his good offices with the emperor, and for his having engaged that

prince

prince to prefer Boſio to one of his ſubjects: But how greatly was this miniſter, and he who accompanied him, ſurpriſed, when he heard the pope utter the following words: That the church of Malta was already provided with a paſtor; that he had already named cardinal Ghinucci to that biſhoprick; that he could not poſſibly have given a more illuſtrious teſtimony of his conſtant and unalterable affection to the order, than by filling that dignity with one of the moſt worthy men in the church, and a cardinal of ſo great merit; that his eminency was going to ſend a grand vicar to Malta, to take poſſeſſion of that dignity in his name, and that he hoped he would not meet with the leaſt obſtacle or oppoſition in it.

THOUGH the embaſſador was thunder-ſtruck, as it were, with a diſcourſe which he ſo little expected, he nevertheleſs anſwered him, that the grand maſter and council would ever pay the higheſt deference and ſubmiſſion to his orders; but, continued he, the only difficulty in this affair is with reſpect to the emperor, whom alone it concerns, and the manner in which he may take ſo ſurpriſing a change. Upon which the pope, raiſing his voice, replied, "The right of providing "for that church, ever ſince the property of that iſland "devolved to other owners, has been lodged in us, "and not in Charles." And thereupon diſmiſſed the embaſſador and Boſio, who accordingly withdrew in the deepeſt vexation of mind, and covered with ſhame and confuſion.

THE grand maſter himſelf was not leſs ſurpriſed and afflicted. His conſtancy wanted, as it were, no more than this laſt trial; but he bore it with his uſual ſteadineſs and reſolution. In order to get clear of ſo tickliſh an affair, and to hold the ſcales even between two powers, with both whom his intereſt obliged him to keep equal meaſures, he thought proper, before he himſelf took notice of the affair, to ſee how the emperor would act in it. He indeed could not poſſibly have taken a more judicious ſtep; for Charles V. who found that his honour and dignity were ſtruck at by the pope's

conduct, made Boſio's affair his own. This prince, though ſo guarded in all his expreſſions, was not maſter enough of himſelf to prevent his reſentments from breaking out. Sangro, one of his hiſtorians, pretends, that in the firſt emotions of his rage and indignation, he was heard to ſay, that he had never repoſed any confidence in that pope, and that becauſe he had obſerved there was always ſome latent craft in all his actions; and that the emperor added, he then owned to his ſhame, that he had been over-reached in that affair, which was owing to his not having ſufficiently miſtruſted the eager and importunate manner, in outward appearance, in which he himſelf ſolicited for the nomination of Boſio. 'Tis probable, that the uneaſineſs Charles V. felt to find himſelf bubbled by the pope, in an art wherein he imagined he was ſo greatly his ſuperior, might have drawn thoſe bitter complaints from him. But whatever he might ſay, which perhaps might be to ſoothe his reſentments, it appears by the teſtimonies of all hiſtorians, that the pope in his offices acted at firſt with great ſincerity. His change of mind was not the reſult of any premeditated deſign; but 'tis pretended, that the only reaſon of the pope's ſupplanting the emperor, was to revenge himſelf for his deferring ſo long to nominate Boſio: and that in the uneaſineſs it gave him, he could not forbear crying out, with relation to that affair, at a time when he was complaining about it to ſome cardinals, "That when "a ſovereign pontiff ſtooped ſo low as to ſue and "intreat, his intreaties and offices ought to be receiv"ed as commands." Others maintain, that without ſeeking in this change for ſuch a refinement of vengeance, of which his genius was not over capable, this pope had reflected, or that his miniſters had made him take notice, that in conſideration of the great eſteem and credit which moſt of the knights had in all the courts of Europe, and above all, of that great height of power to which that military order had raiſed itſelf, it no ways ſuited the intereſts of the holy ſee, that the emperor, and the kings of Sicily, his ſucceſſors, ſhould

reſerve

reſerve to themſelves the right of nominating to the biſhopric of Malta, which gave the perſons ſo nominated a privilege of entering into the council, and even the firſt ſeat in it after that of the grand maſter; that a cunning and intriguing biſhop, taking his advantage of the troubles which frequenty diſturbed Italy, might engage the knights in parties oppoſite to thoſe of the pope. In a word, that they ought never to ſuffer a religious order, that was continually in arms, that lay ſo near Italy, and which had forces and a fleet at its command, ſhould be dependent on any other power than that of the holy ſee.

WHATEVER might have been his motive, which was not without ſome foundation; and whatever inſtances the emperor might make to oblige the pope to deſiſt from the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci; this pontiff was fixed and immoveable upon that article, at the ſame time that he appeared to be in the moſt perfect intelligence with regard to Charles V. and that which might induce us to believe, that his ſteadineſs was not the reſult of reſentment, is, that lying at the point of death, and in thoſe precious moments which decide our fate to all eternity, and in which all the paſſions vaniſh and diſappear, he ſent for cardinal Caraffa, whom he knew to be a zealous adherer to the intereſts of the holy ſee, and charged him to repreſent to his ſucceſſor, that he was obliged in conſcience to maintain ſtrenuouſly the nomination he had made of Ghinucci. But as the laſt deſires and intentions of even the moſt abſolute monarchs are generally buried with them in their graves, Paul III. who ſucceeded Clement, having received letters from the emperor, written in the moſt urgent terms; and being moreover deſirous, for the ſake of his own private intereſt with reſpect to his family, to keep in favour with ſo powerful a prince, he reſolved to give him ſatisfaction. Accordingly they began to treat of the affair, when an expedient was found out to reconcile the intereſts of the two competitors. Boſio, after having proſecuted his affair for three years together, and ſpent immenſe ſums in the court of Rome, and in ſuing for the emperor's

favour, at laſt obtained his bulls; but upon condition of paying the cardinal an annual penſion of 9000 livres: and the emperor, who imagined he was obliged in honour to make Boſio enjoy the biſhoprick of Malta in all its latitude, ſince he had procured it for him, in order to indemnify him for the penſion, gave him an abbey in Sicily of the like value. Notwithſtanding that this affair was not ended till the pontificate of Paul III. I imagined myſelf obliged to anti-
1536. cipate the concluſion of it, for the ſake of the reader, to prevent our being obliged to return to the ſame incident by digreſſions, which often confound and interrupt the thread of the narration.

IN the mean time, the ſteadineſs and reſolution which Clement had diſcovered in maintaining the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci, had not any way cooled the zeal he had diſcovered againſt the infidels. Accordingly he joined a good number of his gallies to thoſe of the emperor; and writing a brief, couched in the moſt urgent terms, to the grand maſter, this prince immediately put to ſea the great carrack, with the gallies and ſhips of the order for his quota. We may juſtly affirm, that the order did not want theſe exhortations from the pontiff to induce it to put to ſea theſe armaments: for the knights, agreeable to the ſpirit of their inſtitution, and out of gratitude for the favours they had received from Charles V. were always ready to furniſh him with the moſt powerful ſuccours, whenever war was to be made againſt the infidels. There were few engagements, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, either in Aſia or Africa, wherein the ſtandards of St. John were not ſeen waving in the emperor's army.

AUGUST the 8th, this ſquadron join'd the emperor's fleet commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, prince of Melfi. That of the Turks, conſiſting of 70 ſail, was at that time in the gulph of Larta, or de la Preveſa. Doria, in his courſe, met with 60 Venetian gallies near Zante; when he propoſed to Vincent Capello,

pello, a noble Venetian, who was general of them, the joining of their fleets, after which they ſhould force Gallipoli, and carry their arms as far as Conſtantinople, which they would find drain'd of its ordinary garriſon; Solyman, he ſaid, having drawn it from thence to reinforce the army which he commanded in perſon upon the frontiers of Hungary. But the Venetians, who were ſo very careful not to give any umbrage to the Turks, that they often ſuffered themſelves to be inſulted, without daring ſo much as to reſent it, excuſed themſelves from ſharing in this enterpriſe, by ſaying, that they had promiſed the grand ſeignior to be neuter in this war. The Chriſtian fleet being at that time between the iſland of Sapienza and Modon, they propoſed the beſieging of the latter. The prior of Rome and the knights declared themſelves for that opinion, who would have been very glad to attempt by open force, the conqueſt of a place which they had failed to ſurprize the year before. But the ſoldiers, who had little elſe for their pay but what they might get by plunder, diſcovered the utmoſt reluctance for that enterpriſe; and did not ſcruple to ſay, and that publickly enough, that they would not expoſe their lives in attacking ſo ſtrong a place which the knights had glean'd ſo thoroughly the year before, that they had left nothing to indemnify the victorious for all their toil. The council of war thought themſelves obliged to wink at diſcourſes which they would have puniſhed, had the ſoldiers been duly paid; and thereupon reſolved upon the ſiege of Coron, a place, whoſe fortifications were much weaker than thoſe of Modon, and which was not above twelve miles diſtant from it by land.

CORON, or Corona, the antient *Chæronea*, the country of Plutarch, that great philoſopher, and celebrated hiſtorian, is ſituated to the left of cape Gallo, and is in the ſhape of a ſcalene triangle, or that whoſe ſides are unequal. one of the angles looks towards a craggy rock; the other two are ſeen from the gulph of Coron, which ſerves almoſt as a port to the tower; but theſe angles are not waſhed by the waves, and one may eaſi-

ly,

ly, by coasting along them, go round this fortress; which was surrounded with a wall built after the antique fashion, of no great strength, but flanked with six towers of antient structure.

DORIA having taken a view of its situation, landed his troops, after which he brought up his gallies, and placed them behind his high built ships, and particularly the great carrack of the order, which, firing over the gallies, beat down most of the fortifications of the place. All the artillery of those ships, and two batteries which they had raised on shore, having made a wide breach, the count of Sarno, and Mendoza colonel of a Spanish regiment, were commanded to attempt a storm, which they accordingly did with the utmost bravery; nor did they meet with less courage in the Turks, who killed three hundred of their soldiers, with several officers, and wounded a much greater number. The priors of Rome and of Auvergne, who advanced to their succour, took their places; they were both come from on board the great carrack, at the head of two hundred knights, and five hundred soldiers in the order's pay. This second assault was full as bloody as the first. Unhappily for the besiegers, their ladders were too short for the height of the walls, so that the knights were forced, in order to gain the top of the breach, to catch hold of the wall, and to climb it by main strength of their hands and feet.

IN this disadvantageous situation, they found themselves exposed to the fire of the small arms, and annoyed by the cross-bows; nor were stones, fire-works, and scalding oil spared on this occasion. Great numbers of them lost their lives by these different weapons; but as they had all taken a resolution of being cut to pieces at the foot of the walls, rather than give over the storm, they, after having called upon the name of St. John, which was their watch-word, pushed forward with so much fury, and crouded so fast one upon another, that they at last lifted up the foremost to the top of the breach, when they made themselves masters of it, and planted the great standard of the order upon it.

The

The armies, both of ſea and land, ſhouted for joy at the ſight of this ſignal of victory. Theſe acclamations made the beſieged believe that the Chriſtians were maſters of the place; upon which, ſuch of the inhabitants as were ſtill intrenched in different parts of the city, and the garriſon of the caſtle, ſet up a white flag, which was ſoon followed by a capitulation. The native Turks and their houſes were ſpared, but thoſe of the Jews were abandoned to the ſoldiers. Doria, after this, went and beſieged Patras, which he took; at the ſame time that the gallies of the order made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Ardinel, and other forts ſituated along the coaſt, which made but very little reſiſtance. After this expedition, as the winter was drawing near, the different ſquadrons, of which the Chriſtian fleet was compoſed, ſeparated, and retired into their reſpective ports.

THE year following, the Turks, who did not care to be loſers, made a powerful armament to recover Coron; and as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted them to keep the ſea, a famous corſair, named the Moor, by Soliman's order, blocked up that place with four great gallies, at the ſame time that another Turkiſh general beſieged it by land.

DORIA was no ſooner informed of their deſigns, but he immediately put to ſea, and was reinforced by the pope's gallies, and thoſe of the order, commanded by the prior of Rome. The Chriſtian fleet advanced in good order againſt the infidels; the ſoldiers called out aloud for battle, but Doria, who had as much bravery as experience, whether it were from prudential motives, or in order to perpetuate himſelf in the command, ever avoided coming to a deciſive battle; and uſed to ſay frequently, that he never loved to be in thoſe engagements wherein fortune had a greater ſhare than the conduct of the general. All he deſigned was to throw ſuccours into the place, and afterwards retire: in this view, he placed the great carrack of Malta at the head of his fleet, from whence, as from a fort and a citadel, he mauled the Turks prodigiouſly. He then

gave

gave orders to the captains under his immediate command, to take their advantage, during the fire and ſmoke of the cannon, to run ſeveral barks full of ſoldiers and ammunition into the place. This deſign was ſo ill executed, that theſe ſmall veſſels were ſuddenly ſurrounded with the Turkiſh gallies. Upon this the Chriſtians are ſeized with a panic; ſome throw themſelves into the main body of the army; others, who were got aſhore, imagined they ſhould more eaſily avoid the fury of the infidels, by throwing themſelves into their boats; but they crouded in ſuch great numbers, and with ſuch great precipitation, that they ſunk to the bottom, and thus haſtened their death by endeavouring to fly from it.

THE Turks being thus maſters of part of the convoy, fell afterwards upon the great ſhips. The combat was now become general; gallies attacked gallies, and ſhips engage with ſhips. Doria on one ſide, and the prior of Rome on the other, come to the aſſiſtance of ſuch as were moſt briskly attacked; their preſence inſpires the ſoldiers with freſh courage, and reſtores order in the fleet. Fortune ſoon ſhifts ſides; the Chriſtians recover their ſmall veſſels, take ſeveral from the Turks; and moreover, thoſe infidels having thrown themſelves ſword in hand into a ſhip belonging to the order, and being already maſters of the upper deck, another Malteſe ſhip comes up, which diſengages that belonging to the order, and makes the aſſailants priſoners, whom they load with the very chains which they had deſigned for thoſe knights.

IN fine, this great croud of maſts begins to thin by degrees; the great noiſe is leſs ſtunning, by the death of ſome, and the flight of others. The victorious Doria throws proviſions into Coron, ſets ſail again, purſues the infidels, and ſeeks for freſh opportunities to immortalize his name.

THE ſquadron of the order being recalled by the grand maſter, ſeparates from the body of the Chriſtian fleet, and returns into the ports; Malta, Tripoli, the coaſts of Naples and Sicily being equally threatned by Barba-

Barbaroſſa, captain of the corſairs of Barbary, who, with 82 gallies, ſcoured thoſe ſeas, and carried terror and dread into all thoſe places, without any one's being able to know where the ſtorm would fall. As the old city of Malta was but poorly fortified; and the town, where the convent reſided, was commanded from ſeveral places; and as the caſtle of St. Angelo was the only place it could retire to; the council was of opinion, that they ſhould leave only three hundred knights to defend it; that the grand maſter ſhould retire into Sicily, and tranſport thither the convent, the relicks, the church ornaments, and the records and treaſures of the order. But this generous old man bravely rejected this advice, with ſaying, "I have never yet fled from the "enemies of the croſs, and the world ſhall never ſee "me ſet ſo bad an example to all my religious, only "for the ſake of preſerving the remains of a languiſh-"ing life." Upon which he immediately ſent an hundred knights, with ſome companies of foot, into that tower, which went by the name of the Notable city; and raiſed, as quick as poſſible, and as well as the time would allow, ſeveral advanced works to the tower of the town. All the inhabitants of the iſland, by the grand maſter's orders, took up arms; and that the relicks and records of the order might be out of danger, he ſent them over into Sicily, where that precious charge was preſerved with the greateſt care. After having thus taken all theſe prudent meaſures, he waited the arrival of the Barbarians with the utmoſt reſolution; but their general took another courſe; he returned to Africa, where he made ſome attempts, of which mention will be made in the ſequel.

THE grand maſter, who attended as much to the preſervation of ſtrict diſcipline, as to the defence of the ſtate, took the advantage of ſummoning a general chapter, during this interval, which the infidels allowed him. Since the loſs of Rhodes, and during the ſpace of eight years, that the order, without having any ſettled habitation, had wandered up and down in different places, ſeveral abuſes had crept into the order, which

he

he thought fit to remedy. The knights, at their firſt arrival at Malta, had made ſhift with taking up their abodes in ſeparate houſes, in different quarters of the town, and other places in the iſland, in oppoſition to the cuſtom of the order, and what had been obſerved at Rhodes, where there was one quarter of the city called Collachio, which was inhabited by the knights only, none of the laity being allowed to dwell there. The grand maſter, in concert with the chapter, reſtored ſo prudent a regulation in Malta; ſo that all the knights were obliged to have their dwellings near his, and under the eye as it were of ſo exact and vigilant a ſuperior. 'Twas from the ſame ſpirit of religion, that they forbid the wearing of too pompous habits, ſo oppoſite to that modeſty and ſimplicity which ſhines with ſo much luſtre in a religious; and ſo far did they carry the ſeverity of this regulation againſt every thing that had the leaſt air of a vain and oſtentatious diſtinction, as to forbid all ſuch commanders as were grand croſſes to wear it out of Malta; and they were not allowed to adorn themſelves with it, but on that day only when they ſet out from their reſpective countries and commanderies, to return to the capital of the order.

FROM theſe particular regulations they proceeded to the moſt important affairs of government. The chapter in a body had the treaty made with the emperor, relating to the eſtabliſhment of the order in the iſland of Malta, repreſented to them, and confirmed it by a ſolemn act. They admit the appeals from the common council to a full council, that is to ſay, into which they admitted, beſides the great croſſes, two of the moſt antient knights of each language; but it was agreed, that the appeal from this laſt council ſhould have no ſuſpenſive effect, and that the ſentences, which ſhould be pronounced from this tribunal, ſhould be executed but by patent only, notwithſtanding the appeal to the general chapter.

As the order was engaged in very great expences; as it maintained ſix or ſeven gallies, without reckoning the high built ſhips and brigantines; as it kept forces

ces in the iſlands of Malta, of Goza and Tripoli in its pay; as they were obliged to ſupport the people who were come with them from Rhodes, and to build a city and an infirmary; the chapter thought proper to augment the reſponſions upon the commanderies of the order: and they beſought the grand maſter, whom they knew to be entirely diſintereſted, to continue the care he took of the adminiſtration of the revenue.

THE chapter ended with this laſt regulation, the aſſembly of which would have been very advantageous to the order, had not a diſorder broke out towards the concluſion of it, or a little after, in which ſome of the languages, engaging themſelves, came to blows, and raiſed a tumult and a ſcandal, which gave the higheſt uneaſineſs to the grand maſter, and to the whole body of the order.

The ſubject of this quarrel aroſe from a private diſpute which happened between a Florentine gentleman, a layman, one of the prior of Rome's domeſtics, and a young French knight, nephew to the commander Servier, of the language of Provence. They fought, and the French knight was ſlain. The uncle of the deceaſed, who pretended that the Florentine had uſed foul play in the duel, put himſelf at the head of his friends, and went in ſearch of him; when having met him, attended in like manner with ſome other gentlemen of the prior's dependents, they fell upon them, wounded ſeveral, and obliged them to fly for their lives, and take ſanctuary in the palace of their patron.

THIS nobleman, who was immenſely rich, a kinſman, and, as others ſay, nephew to the pope, and general of his gallies, and thoſe of the order, had no leſs than threeſcore perſons, who were either lay-gentlemen or Italian knights, in his ſervice. Theſe immediately armed themſelves, and ruſhed out to revenge their countryman; and without making any diſtinction between the languages of France, fell with the utmoſt fury upon all ſuch Frenchmen as they met: they killed ſome, wounded ſeveral others, and raiſed a private quarrel to an open and declared war between the two

nations. The knights of the languages of Auvergne, and of France, ſurpriſed and enraged at ſuch an inſult, joined themſelves to thoſe of Provence. The whole nation met, and united themſelves at the houſe of the chevalier de Bleville, in order to take vengeance for that outrage. But the aſſembly, before they carried their reſentments to a greater height, ſent deputies to the grand maſter to ſue for juſtice from his hands. Accordingly the grand maſter informed the prior of Rome of their complaints, and ordered him at the ſame time to puniſh the guilty.

SALVIATI, proud of his being related to the reigning pontiff, and who looked upon himſelf as another grand maſter, contented himſelf with putting the moſt criminal of his gentlemen under an arreſt on board his admiral galley, and ſent word to the injured languages to acquaint them that he would do them juſtice, after he had enquired into the affair, thinking this ſufficient ſatisfaction. This haughty manner of proceeding, ſo oppoſite to the genius of ſo noble a republic, the ſeveral members of which, thought themſelves upon the ſame level, raiſed again the reſentments of the French knights. The prior's anſwer appeared to them to be no more than a mere ſham, and purpoſely calculated to elude their juſt complaints; and they did not ſo much conſider the ſeizing of the criminals as a confinement, as a means which that prior made uſe of to ſcreen them from the authority of the laws, the juriſdiction of the council, and the judges of the order. Inſomuch, that without conſulting either themſelves, the order, or the duties of true religious, they ruſh out well armed, throw themſelves into the prior's galley, make themſelves maſters of it, and, in their fury and reſentment, ſtab four of ſuch of the prior's gentlemen who were under an arreſt, who had either killed or wounded their companions; and proud of the ſhameful honour of a revenge, ſo unworthy of their profeſſion, they, after this bloody execution, come from on board the admiral galley, as it were in triumph, and retire to their reſpective inns.

THE

THE' prior, exaſperated at the maſſacre of his gentlemen, calls all the knights of the language of Italy about him, and by his emiſſaries, gains over to his intereſt the two languages of Spain, viz. Arragon and Caſtile, who declare in his favour, and come armed to his aſſiſtance. The French, who were ſtill in a body, hearing of this confederacy, iſſue out afreſh from their inns, and advance up to the prior's houſe in ſearch of their enemies; theſe ply them with their musket-ſhot, and were anſwered by as brisk a fire. A diſorder like this had never happened in the order ever ſince its foundation; there was a dreadful tumult in that quarter of the city; in vain the grand maſter ordered them to retire; no command was obeyed; no obedience was ſhewn; diſcord reigned in each quarter of the city; each party obeyed no orders, but ſuch as fury, or the tranſports of a mad paſſion, inſpired. They continued to fire on all ſides; and the prior having ſent for ſome pieces of artillery from on board his gallies, the French on their ſide brought a cannon, which they levelled againſt his palace gate, in order to beat it to pieces: and night, which was coming on, heightned the diſorder and confuſion. The grand maſter, vexed to the ſoul to ſee his knights fighting againſt one another, was for going out, and trying whether his preſence might not have the power to check the mutineers. But the council, fearing leſt this venerable old man, in the darkneſs of the night, and in the midſt of ſo dreadful a tumult, ſhould happen to be wounded, conjured him to keep in his palace, and ſent in his ſtead, and at the head of the garriſon of the caſtle, the bailiff of Manoſque, an antient knight, who was revered by both parties, and that more for his wiſdom than his dignity. This nobleman, artfully intermixing juſt reproaches with the ſofteſt and moſt engaging expreſſions, brought both parties to hear him; after which, he obliged them both to lay down their arms. They all now diſperſed ſeverally; the night calmed their fury and animoſity; and ſhame and repentance roſe with the dawn: But the grand maſter did not think proper to ſuffer the

authors of a tumult, that gave so ill a precedent, to go unpunished; accordingly he deprived twelve of the habit; and, if Bosio is to be credited, they threw into the sea some of the most headstrong and stubborn, who refused to own their crime, and were capable at the same time of perpetrating fresh ones, and renewing the sedition.

How just soever this chastisement might be, the grand master was as much concerned at the punishment he had been obliged to inflict, as at the crime. This threw him into a fit of sickness, when he bewailed himself, as of the greatest misfortune that had ever befel him, for having survived the loss of Rhodes, only to be a melancholy witness of the violence and rebellion of his religious. The fear of worse still to come, the pride and haughtiness of his knights, disguised under the name of courage; and the luxury and effeminacy of others, the unhappy fruits of the most criminal passions, which, in spite of his example, and the severity of his discipline, had already crept into the order: all these several circumstances united, threw this great man into a deep melancholy; he now only languished away the poor remains of life; and the melancholy news he continually received from England, the consequences of which he foresaw would be fatal to the order, brought him insensibly to his grave.

HENRY VIII. as was already observed in the 9th book, was then reigning in that island. This prince had married Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur prince of Wales, having obtained a dispensation from pope Julius II. to that purpose, and had now lived eighteen years with the queen his wife, in the sweetest union and most perfect harmony; when an inordinate passion for a young English lady, raised some scruples in his mind with respect to the validity of his marriage; and as if, in the midst of the transports of his passion, his conscience had been touched, he at last made use of it as a handle to justify his divorce with the queen.

1534.

THIS

THIS princeſs, who had very few charms, and the too dangerous ones of Anna Bullen, eaſily perſuaded him that his diſpenſation was not valid; he was a king, and, as ſuch, did not want either ſervile courtiers, or mercenary learned men, who flattered him in his error.

THE affair was carried to Rome, and at the pope's tribunal; the ſteady refuſal of Clement VII. to approve the pretences for his divorce, made this imperious and paſſionate prince rebel againſt the authority of the holy ſee. As he found he ſhould never obtain the favour he ſo earneſtly ſued for, he reſolved to do without it, and he imagined that he ſhould ſooneſt effect it by aboliſhing the authority of the pontiffs in his dominions. He went farther; for, in concert with the parliament, which he had cunningly made a party in this affair, he inveſted himſelf with that ſpiritual power, and was not aſhamed to make himſelf be declared the ſupreme head of the church of England by act of parliament, to free himſelf from the obligation of ſubmitting to the judgment of the viſible head of the univerſal church, which refuſed to diſunite what God had joined together.

HENRY, once ſo wiſe and underſtanding a prince, but now hurried away by the tranſports of his paſſion, perſecuted with the utmoſt cruelty all ſuch of his ſubjects as refuſed to adore the vain phantom of his ſupremacy. Prelates, eccleſiaſtics, religious, laymen, all loſt their lives for refuſing to ſubſcribe to the double divorce he had juſt made with the catholic church, and Catherine of Arragon his lawful wife. The crime of high treaſon, which, under evil princes, is often the crime of the innocent, ſupplied all thoſe pretences which were wanting to bring them to deſtruction. The parliament, which Henry had artfully prevailed upon to be the miniſter of his paſſions, proſcribed the illuſtrious Pool, a man more diſtinguiſhed by his piety and his profound erudition, than by his royal extraction, which he drew from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

THE king of England had eagerly ſought his approbation, and would fain have obliged him to write in favour of his errors; but he was not to be moved either by the promiſes or menaces of this prince: he repreſented to him with the greateſt ſteadineſs and intrepidity, the injuſtice of his new pretenſions. This prince, who would fain have had the reputation of being a lover of truth, and the ſatisfaction of never hearing it, could not pardon him this liberty. Pool, that he might not be expoſed to his reſentments, withdrew to Rome, when the pope took him under his protection, and honoured the ſacred college, by raiſing him to the dignity of a cardinal.

HENRY imputed this eminent title to him as a crime; he ſet a price upon his head; and it is pretended that he would infallibly have been aſſaſſinated by certain banditti, whom the king of England had hired for that purpoſe, had not the pope, who revered the ſhining qualities of the Engliſh cardinal, given him guards to prevent any ſuch attempt. Pool's diſgrace was fatal to his whole houſe: Margaret Plantagenet, counteſs of Salisbury, his mother; Henry Pool, lord Montacute his brother; Henry Courtney, marquiſs of Exeter, his couſin, being accuſed of holding a correſpondence with the new cardinal, loſt their lives upon a ſcaffold. The king, ever extreme in his revenge, made young Courtney, who was ſon to Henry, feel the effects of it. He indeed, was aſhamed to put a young child to death; but then he threw him into the tower, where he buried him in priſon, for fear he ſhould one day attempt to revenge his father's death.

In the midſt of all theſe executions, the proteſtants, though they diſowned the authority of the ſee of Rome, did not meet with a better treatment. Henry, who was an enemy to every kind of novelty that was not of his own creation, from an unparalleled and whimſical kind of cruelty, burnt all ſuch heretics, and hanged all ſuch catholics, as dared to adhere publicly to the holy ſee. The major part of the courtiers, being doubtful of the prince's religion, had none themſelves

ſelves but his will. Both catholics, as well as proteſtants, concealed their religion as a crime; ſo that nothing but a rebellion againſt the ſee of Rome could be openly diſcovered with impunity. This was the idol of the court, and the only means of maintaining one's ſelf in it. The king, to revenge himſelf upon the religious, who perſevered in the obedience that was due to the holy ſee, gave up their poſſeſſions as a prey to his courtiers: but theſe very poſſeſſions, which had been ſo very unjuſtly acquired, plunged them inſenſibly from Schiſm into hereſy. Many, in the reign of Edward his ſon, in order to obviate the making of ſo neceſſary a reſtitution, embraced the opinions of Luther and Calvin; and at laſt the moſt uſeful opinion appeared to them the trueſt and moſt genuine.

THE commanders and knights of Malta, devoted in a particular manner to the ſee of Rome, and who acknowledged the pope to be their firſt ſuperior, were not exempt from this perſecution. But as this order, being partly compoſed of the prime nobility, was powerful in the kingdom, and that the prior of St. John of London had even a ſeat in parliament, in quality of firſt baron of England, he ſuſpended the proſcribing of them, and the entire ſuppreſſion of the order, till ſuch time as he had got it authoriſed, which he afterwards did by act of parliament. In the mean time, there was ſcarce one indirect perſecution but he made them ſuffer, the greateſt part of them being arreſted upon various pretences, or at leaſt they ſeized upon the revenues of their commanderies. Such as could eſcape the malice and cruelty of his miniſters, and who foreſaw the fatal conſequences of the ſchiſm, abandoned all their poſſeſſions, and withdrew to Malta, where they came without any certain fund for their ſubſiſtence. The grand maſter, like a good father, ſupplied all their wants with the moſt extenſive charity, and endeavoured to adminiſter conſolation to them, of which he himſelf ſtood in as great need. A Chriſtian king's thus perſecuting an order, which had deſerved ſo well of all Chriſtendom, compleated the

meaſure

measure of that series of misfortunes he had laboured under during his grand mastership. Being no longer able to bear up under them, he fell sick, when a violent fever soon consumed the little remains of life he had left; and accordingly he expired in the arms of his knights, who were so dear to him, on
Aug. 21. the 21st of August. Thus died a prince,
1534. so highly deserving for his uncommon bravery, for his heroic constancy, and for the wisdom and mildness of his government; virtues which he possessed in a most eminent degree, and which they afterwards endeavoured to represent by these few words, which were engraven on his monument:

HERE LIES VIRTUE
VICTORIOUS OVER FORTUNE.

PETER DU PONT. 1534. BROTHER PETER DU PONT, of an illustrious house of the county of Ast, descended of the antient lords of Lombriac, and of Casal-Gros in Piedmont, and bailiff of Santa Euphemia in Calabria, succeeded Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. He was at that time in his bailiwick; and his merit and virtues were his only recommendation. He was an ancient knight,* of very grave and severe morals, a strict observer of regular discipline; and his election is a manifest proof, that if, through the calamity of the times, the statutes might have been executed with less exactness than formerly, yet nevertheless in affairs of moment, and particularly in the election of grand masters, all the knights at that time consulted only their conscience, and that merit only carried all their voices.

THOMAS BOSIO, the bishop of Malta elect, was sent by the council to the grand master, to carry him the instrument of his election. No sooner was the news brought to him, but he burst into tears, and would willingly have been excused from accepting so great a dignity;

* Bosio, l. 7.

dignity; but an unhappy piece of news, which he received by a freſh expreſs, determined him at once, and haſtned his departure. They had ſince diſpatched the chevalier Geſvalle, to give him advice of the revolutions that had juſt happened in Africa, and in the kingdom of Tunis, which Barbaroſſa had juſt ſeized upon, and that this formidable corſair threatned Tripoli with a ſiege. The new grand maſter went immediately on board, and came to Malta the 10th of November. His firſt cares were to ſend a powerful ſuccour to Tripoli; but although they ſhould have tranſported thither all the forces of the order, how brave and intrepid ſoever the knights might be, they would not have been capable, with four or five gallies only, to make head againſt Barbaroſſa, who was maſter of two ſuch powerful ſtates as Algiers and Tunis, and who moreover, in quality of Baſha of the ſea, and grand admiral of Solyman, had an hundred gallies, and upwards of two hundred veſſels of different bulk under his command. He was brother to Horruc, or Horace Barbaroſſa, both of them famous for their bravery and fortune.

THESE two corſairs,[a] though both born among the dregs of the people in the city of Mitylene, were not nevertheleſs of an obſcure birth. From their youth, and as ſoon as they were able to bear arms, they gave ſome marks of their courage and ambition, in ſcouring together the ſeas, with only a ſingle brigantine, which was all their fortune.

AN intrepid bravery, a happy ſucceſs in their attempts, and a number of conſiderable prizes, increaſed their reputation and ſtrength. They either bought, or got ſhips and gallies built, made up a little fleet, and gained over other pirates to their ſtandards, who acknowledged them for their leaders and generals. Neither ambition nor riches could diſunite the two brothers: Horruc, who was the elder, had indeed the principal command, but Airadin had as much authority in his abſence; they were equally brave, equally cruel, reſolute corſairs, and called themſelves friends of

[a] Boſio, l. 6.

of the ſea, and enemies to all thoſe who ſailed on that element; they fell upon Muſulmen and Chriſtians, without diſtinction; and by carrying on the trade of thieves and corſairs, learned inſenſibly that of conquerors.

THERE was now nothing wanting to complete their fortune, but their being maſters of a port, to carry their prizes into; when the war that broke out between Selim Eutemi, prince of Algiers, and his brother, gave them an opportunity of gratifying themſelves in what they wanted, by declaring for one of thoſe princes, and afterwards cruſhing both. For Horruc being received in Algiers, in quality of an ally, made himſelf maſter of it; when getting Eutemi ſtrangled, who had called him to his aſſiſtance, his troops proclaimed him king of Algiers; and, in order to eſtabliſh his conqueſt by a powerful protection, he paid homage for it to Solyman, emperor of the Turks, and made himſelf tributary to him. He afterwards took the cities of Circella and Bugia, won the kingdom of Tremezen, of which Algiers had formerly been a part; and gained ſeveral advantages over the Spaniards, who had undertaken the defence of the king of Tremezen their vaſſal. But as the fate of arms is doubtful and uncertain, he was beſieged in the capital of his kingdom; when, after a ſtubborn defence, the artillery of the Spaniards having reduced the fortifications of that place to aſhes, being unable to hold out any longer, or reſolve with himſelf to capitulate, he endeavoured to eſcape with his treaſures by a ſubterraneous paſſage, that ran as far as the plains. The marquis of Gomara, governor of Oran, who commanded at the ſiege, having notice of his flight, purſued him very cloſe.

BARBAROSSA, in order to retard the purſuit of the Spaniards, and to gain time to reach the deſarts, ſcattered at certain diſtances as he fled, gold, ſilver, and rich ſtuffs. But nothing was able to ſuſpend the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who fell upon him at the brink of the river Huexda, ſo that he was now obliged to fight: Barbaroſſa ſtood his ground; the deſpair he

was

was in of eſcaping out of the hands of his enemies, heightned his courage, and the ſight of inevitable danger baniſhed all fear from his breaſt. He ruſhes with fury into the midſt of the Chriſtians, and kills ſeveral officers with his own hand; but after all, as the odds were very great, the greater number prevailed; and Barbaroſſa being ſurrounded on all ſides, fell with 1500 men, who had accompanied him in his retreat, who were all cut to pieces. His brother Airadin, with the name of Barbaroſſa, took upon himſelf the title of king of Algiers, and afterwards aſſociated with two famous pirates, who were his lieutenants. The one of them named Airadin, a native of Caramania, and who, for his fury and cruelty, was called *Devil-driver*; the other corſair, a renegado Jew of Smyrna, was known by the name of *Sinan*. Theſe three corſairs were the terror of all the Chriſtian coaſts, and ſubjected as it were the Mediterranean under their empire. *Devil-driver*, not contented with the prizes he daily made at ſea, was deſirous, after the example of Barbaroſſa, and perhaps to withdraw himſelf from his authority, to ſettle himſelf in an independent ſtate. Accordingly he ſurpriſed Tagiora, of which mention has been made in the beginning of this book, made himſelf maſter of it, advanced with his ſquadron into the port, and had the vanity to get himſelf to be proclaimed king.

BUT in order to appear to the world ſtill aſſociated with Barbaroſſa,* at the ſame time that he gave him notice of his new conqueſt, he paid homage to him for it, and proteſted that he would ever adhere inviolably to his intereſts. Barbaroſſa, though offended with the ambition of his lieutenant, nevertheleſs thought it the wiſeſt part to diſſemble an injury which he could not revenge without weakening himſelf. He therefore received Airadin's homage, congratulated him upon his conqueſt, and finding every thing was ſecure with reſpect to Algiers, Airadin made inroads into the territory of Tripoli. 1532.

A

* Boſio, l. 6.

A war now broke out between the knights and this new prince. He took from them two brigantines belonging to the order; he obliged those of Gienzor, his neighbours, to break the alliance and the treaty which they had made with Tripoli; and to keep the knights invested as it were in that place, he, in spite of all their opposition, raised, at the distance of a cannon shot, a tower or castle, since called the tower of Alcaide, where nothing could come in or go out of the port of Tripoli but it was immediately discovered.

MULEY HASCEN, a Mooriſh prince, king of Tunis, who dreaded the ambition and neighbourhood of the Turk, made a particular alliance with the governor of Tripoli againſt him, and reſolved to drive this corſair from his new conqueſt before he could have time to ſtrengthen himſelf in it.[a] In this view, he raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, moſt of whom were Arabian peaſants; and the knights furniſhing him with a train of artillery, he beſieged Tagiora. But whether it was owing to the valour and bravery of Airadin, or the unskilfulneſs of Haſcen's generals, that prince was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and to employ afterwards in his own defence thoſe very forces which he had raiſed only to attack his enemies.

HASCEN,[b] of whom mention is now made, was ſon to Muley Mahomet, who had thirty four
1531. children by ſeveral wives. Although Muley was the laſt, as is pretended, or at leaſt one of the youngeſt, his mother, who was probably the favourite ſultaneſs, had ſo great an aſcendant over Mahomet, as to obtain a declaration from him in favour of her ſon, by which he appointed him his ſucceſſor. This ambitious woman, to prevent him changing his reſolution, got him immediately poiſoned. This crime was the firſt ſtep by which Haſcen aſcended to the throne; and in order to maintain himſelf in it, he either murdered or put out the eyes of the greateſt part of his brothers or nephews. Araſchid, who was one of the eldeſt of his brothers, eſcaped him: this prince

[a] Boſio, l. 6. [b] Boſio, l. 5.

prince fled to Algiers for refuge, and implored the protection of Barbaroſſa the corſair; who hoping to make an advantage of their diviſions, gave him a favourable reception: He even promiſed him a powerful ſuccour, but at the ſame time gave him to underſtand, that as he was the grand ſeignior's officer as well as vaſſal, he could not engage in that enterprize without his leave; but that if he would agree to go with him to Conſtantinople, he did not doubt but that that great prince and the whole Divan would approve of a war ſo juſt in itſelf, and the ſeveral advantages of which, as well as the eaſe with which it might be carried on, he promiſed to repreſent to his highneſs.

THE Mooriſh prince, who was now at his laſt *ſhifts*, gave himſelf entirely up to his counſels. Barbaroſſa, who had his private views, carried him to Conſtantinople; where being arrived, the perfidious corſair, in a ſecret audience which he obtain'd of the grand ſeignior, repreſented to him, that it would be an eaſy matter for him, by the help of the party, and the intelligence which Araſchid held in Tunis, to ſeize upon that city and the whole kingdom, and to annex it afterwards to his empire. Solyman, greedy of glory, and to extend the bounds of his empire, was pleaſed with his reaſons. Accordingly he iſſued out orders for the fitting out an extraordinary armament in all his ports; ſo that it was not long before they put to ſea ninety gallies, and upwards of two hundred veſſels laden with ammunition and land forces. The grand ſeignior ſhewed Araſchid the utmoſt kindneſs, who, at the ſight of ſo formidable an army, flattered himſelf that he ſhould re-enter Tunis, as it were in triumph. But when they were juſt going to embark, Solyman had him arreſted in the ſeraglio; and the whole was executed with ſo much ſecrecy, that when they let ſail, the whole fleet imagined, that this unfortunate prince was on board the admiral, and in the general's galley.

This corſair had no ſooner ſet ſail from Conſtantinople, but the better to conceal his deſign from the

king of Tunis, he ſtood for the coaſt of Italy, ravaged the coaſts of Apulia and Calabria, ſpread the terror of his arms in Naples and Gayeta; and after having ranſack'd the towns and villages, made ſlaves of a numberleſs multitude of the inhabitants, and left the moſt dreadful marks of his fury in all places, he went through the Pharo of Meſſina, made the ſame cruel havock along the coaſts of Sicily, drew near to cape Paſſare, as if he had intended to make a deſcent there, and afterwards turn'd ſhort towards Africa; when he landed near Goletta, and gave out that he brought back Araſchid. Then, in order to procure the favour of the garriſon of the fort, he ſaluted it with a diſcharge of his artillery, but without ball; and having ſent an officer into the place, to demand of the governor for whom he held it; "We are (reply'd the aga) the ſervants of events; and we ſhall keep the place for "that party in whoſe favour fortune ſhall declare her"ſelf, and for that prince, of the ſeveral competitors, "whom ſhe ſhall make king of Tunis."

BARBAROSSA, who was not ignorant of the importance of this place, it being the key of the kingdom, diſpatched a meſſenger to repreſent to him, that the grand ſeignior had ſent him to place the lawful heir upon the throne of Tunis; that he had orders to attack and cut to pieces all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe him in it: that he might ſatisfy himſelf with his own eyes how formidable that prince was, and whether he was able to make head againſt it. The perſon who was entruſted with this negotiation, managed it ſo artfully, and knew ſo well how to intermix promiſes with his threats, that the governor, perhaps bribed alſo by conſiderable ſums of money, delivered up the place to the corſair, who, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in it, advanced up into the ports of Tunis. This city, the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, is ſituated on the coaſt of Barbary to the North of Africa, between Tripoli and Algiers, at the point of the gulph of Goletta, and two miles from the Mediterranean, from whence one might diſcover the ruins of the famous Carthage.

THE

THE city of Tunis was ſaid to have conſiſted at that time of upwards of twenty thouſand houſes, and was peopled in proportion; but then it was barely walled, without any fortifications: and as it was commanded from ſeveral places on the weſt ſide, its whole ſtrength lay only in the caſtle, and the number of its inhabitants.

UPON the approach of Barbaroſſa's army, and the reports they ſpread of prince Araſchid's being at the head of the Turks, the people, who are ever greedy, and often ruined by the change of maſters, roſe and took up arms. Hacen, who was afraid they would abandon him, came out of the caſtle, endeavoured to quell the ſedition, and reminded the mutineers of the fidelity which they had ſworn to him; and in order to draw them over to him, ſtooped ſo low as to make even the moſt grovelling intreaties. But whether it were from an abhorrence of his government, or out of compaſſion for Araſchid, becauſe he was unhappy, the people rejected with loud cries, and even contempt, all the remonſtrances and intreaties the king could make; ſo that this prince, fearing they ſhould attempt to murder him, or deliver him up to his enemy, immediately left the city, without ſo much as once going back into the caſtle, or carrying off his treaſures with him.

MARMOL[a], in his deſcription of Africa, relates, that that prince had owned to him, that in the great confuſion, the approach of his enemies, and the revolt of his ſubjects, had thrown him into, he, when he went down from the caſtle into the city, had forgot a red velvet purſe, wherein were two hundred diamonds of an extraordinary ſize, and of an ineſtimable value.

HE had no ſooner left Tunis, but the inhabitants opened the gates to his enemies; when immediately Barbaroſſa entered into it at the head of nine thouſand Turks, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle and the principal poſts of the city. The inhabitants received him at firſt with the higheſt teſtimonies of joy;

[a] Hiſtory of the kingdom of Tunis.

but when they ſaw Araſchid did not appear, they began to miſtruſt the corſair, notwithſtanding his telling them that he was confined on board his galley by ſickneſs: and the fraud being at laſt diſcovered, the inhabitants, inſtead of taking an oath of fidelity to Solyman, as he required they ſhould do, openly deteſting the corſair's treachery, took up arms, and fell upon his troops in order to force him to quit the city. But they had to deal with a captain, who, being a perfect maſter of the arts of war, had foreſeen this revolution. Barbaroſſa, to keep in the people, commanded the artillery of the caſtle, of which he was maſter, to be ſet a roaring; and his ſoldiers made ſo furious a diſcharge of their muſkets upon the inhabitants, that they, in order to put a ſtop to the maſſacre, were forced to acknowledge the grand ſeignior for their ſovereign, and Barbaroſſa for his viceroy.

THIS corſair, as skilful as he was valiant, after having employed his arms with ſo much ſucceſs to keep the people in ſubjection, endeavoured to gain over the principal inhabitants by gentleneſs, and the moſt engaging affability. He, by their means, made an alliance with the Arabian peaſants, ſeized upon moſt of the cities that were higher up in the country, put garriſons into them; and, being about to widen a canal to make Tunis a port, and to put it in a condition to receive ſhips of the greateſt burthen, he employed the Chriſtian ſlaves, of whom he had more than twenty thouſand in the city, for that purpoſe, who opened the canal of Goletta, which runs from the ſea into the lake on which the city of Tunis is ſituated.

SUCH was the ſtate and condition of the coaſts of Africa, and the provinces bordering upon Tripoli, when the grand maſter arrived at Malta. This prince juſtly conſidered, that it would be impoſſible for the knights to maintain themſelves in Tripoli, without the aſſiſtance of forces, and a power ſuperior to that of the order. Charles V. was the only ſovereign in Europe, whom this enterprize would any way concern; nor was any other able to oppoſe it. He had juſt reaſon to fear,

left

leſt this formidable corſair, after ſo many conqueſts, ſhould endeavour to ſeize upon the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which would afterwards have given him the poſſeſſion of Malta. So that the grand maſter, with the advice of the council, ſent the commander Ponce of Leon, a grand croſs, to the emperor, in quality of his embaſſador, to ſollicit him to ſend ſuch an army into Africa, as might be capable of maintaining the knights in Tripoli, and of putting a ſtop to the ſurprizing progreſs of Barbaroſſa.

THE emperor received at the ſame time, and upon the ſame ſubject, another embaſſy from Muley Haſcen, at the head of which was a renegado Genoeſe, named Ximaa, who was the captain of his guards. This renegado, ſeeing his maſter dethroned, and without any hopes left of being able to recover his crown, adviſed him to have recourſe to Charles V. a prince to whom, he ſaid, Barbaroſſa was odious, and who would think it very honourable for him to reſtore a monarch to his kingdom, who had been ſo unjuſtly deprived of it.

HASCEN entruſted the execution of the project to him who was the author of it. Accordingly the Genoeſe went to Madrid, and obtained an audience of the emperor, who fearing leſt ſome attempt ſhould be made upon his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, gave a favourable hearing to both embaſſadors. The affair was propoſed in council, and after its being examined before the emperor, by his miniſters and his 1535. moſt able generals, it was reſolved [a] that the emperor ſhould carry his arms into Africa, as well as to ſecure the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily againſt any invaſion that the king of Algiers might make, as the paſſage of the Spaniſh ſeas into Italy, where not ſo much as a trading or paſſage-veſſel, thro' fear of the corſairs, durſt appear, without running the risk of being taken.

CHARLES V. ſeemed to be well ſatisfied with this reſolution; but before he employed force, this prince, who was the greateſt politician of his age, and who

[a] Boſ. l. 7.

often drew greater advantages from his ſecret negotiations than his arms, endeavoured to bribe Barbaroſſa, and to draw him off from Solyman. Accordingly he entruſted another Genoeſe, Lewis Preſandes by name, with the whole management of this intrigue, whom the emperor furniſhing privately with a trading-veſſel, he went with it to Tunis, under pretence of traffick, carrying at the ſame time credentials, which inveſted him with the character of an embaſſador. After having got himſelf introduced to Barbaroſſa upon another pretence, he ſhewed him his credentials, and purſuant to his inſtructions, propoſed to him the concluding of a private alliand with Charles V. and at the ſame time offered him, in the name of that prince, to aſſiſt him, in order to make him abſolute monarch of all Africa, provided he would engage himſelf to hold afterwards ſo glorious a monarchy, and render it tributary to the crown of Spain. By a ſecond inſtruction, directly oppoſite to the firſt, this agent had orders to confer as ſecretly as poſſible with certain inhabitants of Tunis, whoſe names had been given him, and whom Haſcen's embaſſadors had ſaid to be inclined to favour his maſter's intereſt, to ſound them, to aſſure them of the ſpeedy return of that prince at the head of an army, and to exhort them to take up arms in his favour as ſoon as he ſhould appear at the gates of their city.

But as this miniſter was for carrying on two negotiations of ſo different a nature at the ſame time, he was ſoon ſuſpected. The whole intrigue was diſcovered; and Barbaroſſa, without regarding the right of nations, cauſed the embaſſador to be ſtrangled. The emperor ſeeing it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed by the way of negotiation, reſolved to ſee what open force could do. Accordingly he ſent back Haſcen's embaſſador to his maſter, to aſſure him, that he himſelf would go at the head of a powerful army, in order to reſtore him to his throne; and at the ſame time he writ to the grand maſter by an expreſs, to give him notice of his deſign, and to invite the knights to aſſociate with

him

him in an enterprize, which might be of great advantage to them, with reſpect to Tripoli.

THE grand maſter no ſooner receiv'd his letter but he communicated it to the council: when it was reſolved, that the order ſhould furniſh as many ſhips for that expedition as it could poſſibly allow. Accordingly the knights put to ſea four of the largeſt and beſt equipped gallies, with 18 brigantines, all well armed; not to mention the great carrack, which alone was more formidable, and did more ſervice in this expedition, than a whole ſquadron. A conſiderable number of knights went on board theſe different ſhips, and each knight carried two brave ſoldiers along with him inſtead of ſervants. The commander Aurelio Botigella, an antient ſea-officer, was named for general of this ſeparate fleet, and Anthony de Grolée, titular bailiff of Lango, was to command the carrack and the land-forces.

BARBAROSSA, whom the deſigns of the Chriſtian princes could not poſſibly eſcape, provided himſelf with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, ſummoned all the corſairs of the Levant about him, drew from Algiers as many forces as were there, and diſpatched ſeveral embaſſadors to all the petty kings of Africa, to implore their aſſiſtance, and to repreſent to them, that the loſs of Tunis would infallibly draw after it that of all Barbary. His money did more ſervice than the eloquence of his negotiators; and ſending ſome conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the chiefs of the Arabians, he by that means obtained from them 15000 men, all horſemen, who not valuing who they fought for, expoſed their lives for a meer trifle, and made a mercenary trade of war. As for Charles V. he had got together a powerful fleet, conſiſting of near 300 ſail, with 25000 infantry, and 2000 horſe on board, not to mention a conſiderable number of volunteers of different nations, and of the firſt houſes of Europe, who were deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves in the preſence of ſo great an emperor.

THE

The general rendezvous was in the port of Cagliari, a city of Sardinia, not above ſixty leagues diſtant from the coaſts of Africa. The emperor having received the reinforcement of the pope, and the order of Malta, ſet out from thence on the 13th of June, 1536. and arrived happily at Porto-Farina, antiently called Utica, a city famous in the Roman hiſtory for the death of the younger Cato. 'Tis pretended, that Barbaroſſa, hearing that the emperor commanded his army in perſon, ſaid to the officers who were about him; "If this prince, who has hitherto ſeldom made "war but by his lieutenants, ſhould acquire in this cam- "paign the only honour that is now wanting to com- "pleat his glory, we muſt reſolve with ourſelves to "loſe that which we have acquired with the price of "our blood."

THIS pirate, who naturally imagined that the Chriſtians would begin their enterpriſe by attacking the fort of Goletta, had, for that reaſon, thrown into it 6000 of the braveſt Turks in his whole army. Theſe were commanded by Airadin and Sinan the Jew, the two famous corſairs above mentioned, and in whom Barbaroſſa had repoſed the utmoſt confidence. He at the ſame time ſent the eunuch Azanga, another of his generals, with 30,000 Moors or Arabians, but all of them bowmen or arquebuſiers, and the moſt part on horſe-back, in order to haraſs the Chriſtians continually; and as he ſcrupled the fidelity of the Tuniſians, he ſhut himſelf up in that place with the flower of his troops.

THE emperor landed his army without oppoſition, within cannon-ſhot of the fort of Goletta: it was no more than a large ſquare tower, but well-flanked, and ſituated about twelve miles from Tunis, at the mouth of the canal, by which the ſea enters into the baſon, on the ſide of which Tunis is built. This canal is about the length of a croſs-bow ſhot, but ſo narrow, that a galley can't paſs thro' it but by ſtrength of oars. Barbaroſſa had built a bridge over this canal; and on a neck of land that lies between the ſea and the tower of Goletta, he raiſed a rampart that diſcovered all the coaſt,

coaſt, and defended thoſe gallies which he had poſted out of the canal.

THE emperor's generals pitched upon a ſpot of ground which they thought the moſt convenient for their encampment, and ſurrounded it with good lines, that were wide and deep, and ſtrengthned at certain diſtances with redoubts. The garriſon of Goletta, in order to interrupt theſe works, made frequent ſallies, in which 300 Spaniards and 400 Italians were cut to pieces; at the ſame time that the Mooriſh and Arabian horſe were continually haraſſing the Chriſtian army, and came to skirmiſh to the very head of their camp. The fortifications of the camp being finiſhed, they now began to raiſe batteries, both againſt the fort, and on that ſide towards the open country; the fire whereof was ſo dreadful, and at the ſame time without the leaſt intermiſſion, that the Turks of the garriſon, as well as the Moors and Arabians who kept the field, did not dare to come near the emperor's camp again.

THIS prince, who juſtly ſuppoſed, that after the taking of this fortreſs, that of Tunis would fall of courſe, reſolved, as ſoon as the breaches ſhould be wide enough, to attempt a ſtorm. They battered the place at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

DORIA, who commanded the fleet, brought up his gallies by turns, and after one range had fired, another advanced in its place, and made its diſcharge. The great carrack of the order was poſted as at the ſiege of Coron, behind all the gallies; but it was ſo high-built, that it eaſily fired over them all, and it made ſo dreadful and uninterrupted a fire, that it diſmounted all the cannon of the tower. The commander Botigella, prior of Piſa, obſerving, that the chief officer over the ſlaves in the gallies of the order, for fear of running a-ground, had given orders to raiſe the oars out of the water, went to him ſword in hand, and commanding him to make the crew ply their oars; "Wretch (ſays "he to him) muſt we be prevented from performing a "brave exploit, for the ſake only of preſerving the "hulls of two or three gallies?" The chevalier de Converſa,

Converſa, an able engineer, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an action that was ſtill more daring; for he armed a long bark with great guns, fill'd it with musketeers, and afterwards drove it up to the foot of the tower, from whence he fired upon all ſuch Turks as preſented themſelves upon the breach; and, whilſt he was charging again on one ſide, he dextrouſly turned his bark about, and preſented the other, which immediately fir'd. By thus working of the ſhip, he killed a great number of the infidels, who fired upon him from the artillery of the tower that was juſt by, but without making any execution. In fine, after having fired continually on all ſides from midnight to noon, the emperor, before the Turks had time to repair the breaches, and make intrenchments, commanded a general ſtorm to be attempted. The knights agreeable to their prerogative, and the poſſeſſion they enjoyed of being always at the head of the attacks, were commanded to march at the head of that which was to be given on the ſide towards the ſea. The commander de Grolée, otherwiſe named the bailiff Paſſim, who commanded the land-forces, put them on board barks and flat veſſels; but as they drew near the ſhore, theſe boats run upon a ſand. The chevalier Copier, of the houſe of d'Hiers in Dauphine, who carried the ſtandard of the order, was the firſt who leaped into the water with his enſign. He was followed by all the knights, who, plunging in above the waiſt, advanced boldly ſword in hand, got to the ſhore, and, in ſpite of a ſhower of musket-ſhot, advanced to the ſtorm. The Spaniards, ſuſtained by the Italians and Germans, attacked another place; and in theſe different attacks, the Chriſtians, in ſpite of the courageous defence of the Turks, forced the breaches, got to the bulwarks, and the top of the tower, and made themſelves maſters of it. But this victory coſt the order many of its braveſt knights, and ſcarce one of them returned back without wounds. As this tower had no outworks, they were immediately in the body of the place; and as the artillery had ruined all its fortifica-

fortifications, the Chriſtians, after having fought an hour, got poſſeſſion of it.

AIRADIN and Sinan the Jew, ſeeing it would be in vain for them to reſiſt, threw themſelves into the baſon, with the garriſon. They marched along the flats by a way which had been marked out with ſtakes, and arrived at Tunis, while others ſtopped at Arradez, a little city in the road from Goletta to Tunis. The Chriſtians purſued, and killed great numbers of them; and the emperor entered into Goletta, followed by king Haſcen; when turning to that prince; "Here (ſays he to him) is the gate opened for you, thro which you will return into your dominions." 'Tis pretended that they met in the port of this place with eighty ſeven gallies, galiots, and other rowing veſſels, all of them armed; beſides upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, moſt of them braſs, a numberleſs multitude of muskets, croſs-bows, pikes, and ſwords. Barbaroſſa had made this fort his arſenal, whither he uſed to carry all his prizes and his booty, and till now, had always thought it impregnable. July 1535.

THE emperor, after having allowed his troops ſome time to repoſe themſelves after their toil, gave orders for their marching towards Tunis. Notwithſtanding that Barbaroſſa was very ſenſible of the weakneſs of the place, and moreover very doubtful of the fidelity of the Tuniſians, and more ſo of the bravery of the Arabians, nevertheleſs, as he was a man of prodigious courage, he reſolved to attempt the fate of arms, to advance forwards to meet the Chriſtians, and rather give them battle, than ſhut himſelf up in a place that was but weak. But before he took the field, he held a great council of war; when having ſummoned the chiefs of his army, as well Turks, Moors, as Arabians, he repreſented to them the ſmall number of forces the emperor had in compariſon of his; that the braveſt of the Chriſtians had loſt their lives at the ſiege of Goletta; that the exceſſive heats of the country, to which the European ſoldiers were not accuſtomed, had thrown great numbers

ers of them into a ſick and languiſhing condition; that they were in want of water, inſomuch that the greateſt part of them died with thirſt. He added, that the emperor's camp abounded with immenſe riches; that the ſums they would get for the ranſom of the priſoners they ſhould make, would be full as conſiderable; "In fine (ſaid he to them) I promiſe you victory, if "you are deſirous of conquering; and the defeat of "your enemies will ſecure you an abundant fortune, "your own ſafety, and that of your wives and children."

THE anſwer they made him conſiſted only in proteſtations of an inviolable fidelity; notwithſtanding which, he yet diſcovered in moſt of their countenances, a certain air of inquietude and an impreſſion of fear, which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs: and as moreover, he was well acquainted with the fickle and wavering temper of the Africans, he held during the night-time a ſecret council, compoſed only of ſuch Turks as adhered to his fate and fortune. He declared to them, that he was unhappily engaged in a place where he had three kinds of enemies, whom he had equally reaſon to diſtruſt; that the Moors ſuffered impatiently the Turkiſh government, and would be glad to ſee them all cut to pieces; that Arabians who were fitter to make inroads, than boldly to ſtand their ground in an engagement, would, at the ſight of the leaſt danger, immediately give way: and that there were actually twenty two thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves impriſoned in Tunis, who would not fail to facilitate the entry of emperor's forces, if they ſhould meet with an opportunity for that purpoſe: that notwithſtanding their being ſhut up every night in the caſtle, yet it would be in the power of one traitor or renegado only, to open the gates of it, and render them maſters of the city, during the time they ſhould be engaged with the Chriſtians; but that he, in order to rid himſelf of that uneaſineſs, was reſolved before he left that place, to cut all thoſe ſlaves to pieces, without ſparing ſo much as

one

one. *Devil-driver* gave aloud his approbation of ſo inhuman a reſolution, and maintained, 1535. that if they ſpared the ſlaves *, they would make them one day repent of their falſe pity; and that in ſuch a conjuncture, the preſerving of an enemy, who might afterwards deſtroy them, would be acting in contradiction to all the maxims of policy. But Sinan the Jew, to whom part of theſe ſlaves belonged, and who made up the bulk of his poſſeſſions, oppoſed this reſolution. He repreſented to Barbaroſſa, that ſo barbarous an action would draw upon them the odium of all nations; that he, by that means, would alienate the affections of the Tuniſians, who had either bought or taken the greateſt part of thoſe Chriſtians; that he himſelf would loſe the ranſom of the moſt conſiderable, who were his property; that after all they might, whenever they pleaſed, find an opportunity of making uſe of ſo cruel a precaution; that they ſhould reſerve that execution, till ſuch time as they ſhould be brought to their laſt ſhifts; whereas, if they ſhould happen to beat the emperor's forces, the loſs they ſhould ſuſtain, by the over-haſty death of their ſlaves, would poiſon the joy that attends upon victory.

THO' Barbaroſſa had not uſed to prefer moderation to violence, yet avarice, on this occaſion, got the better of his natural cruelty, and accordingly he conſented to ſuſpend the putting of the ſlaves to death; but in order not to be diſappointed in ſatiating his vengeance upon them, in caſe he ſhould be overcome, he loaded them with freſh irons, gave orders that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſtir out of the dungeon or priſon where they were ſhut up, and lodged ſeveral barrels of powder under it, to blow it up into the air upon his orders. After this, he marched out at the head of his troops to meet the emperor, and encamped in a plain at a league's diſtance from Tunis, when both armies ſoon came up with one another. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, to heighten the glory of Charles V. pretend, that Barbaroſſa's army

* Boſio, t. 5. l. 8.

conſiſted of no leſs than 90,000 men. The reader may judge whether this be fact, by the iſſue of the battle, if we may give this name to a rout, in which, by the confeſſion of thoſe very writers, the Chriſtians loſt but eighteen ſoldiers, and the infidels about 300. Be that as it will, the Arabians advanced at firſt to fight with intrepidity enough, and came on to the charge with great ſhouts. But no ſooner had they heard the roaring of the artillery, and ſtood the firſt fire from the muſkets, but theſe troops, which had been uſed to fight only in wheeling about, immediately gave way, took to their heels, and diſappeared in an inſtant; and that which threw Barbaroſſa into the utmoſt conſternation was, that they drew the Moors and Tuniſians along with them in their flight, who flocked into the city, with greater eagerneſs than they had gone out of it. The Arabian chiefs, as a handle that might be of ſervice to them in making their court to Haſcen, afterwards boaſted their having kept them in, and prevented their fighting. Barbaroſſa commanded a retreat to be ſounded; and, after having rallied them, did not once reproach them, and only told them, that they ſhould engage the Chriſtians on the morrow.

BUT he was very far from having any ſuch deſign. As he was ſurrounded on all ſides with open or ſecret enemies; the only reaſon of his keeping up ſo many troops was in order to ſecure his retreat. He even concealed this reſolution with the utmoſt care from the Turks, who appeared to be his moſt faithful friends; but the eagerneſs his people diſcovered to draw his treaſures out of the caſtle, gave occaſion to ſome ſuſpicion; and the order he afterwards gave, to ſet fire to the powder that was lodged under the priſon of the ſlaves, made them no longer doubt of his reſolves: but the ordinary miniſters of his cruelty had it not in their power to execute ſo horrid a ſcene of cruelty. There was at that time among the ſlaves [a], a knight of the order, commander of Turin, brother Paul Simeoni by name, whom Barbaroſſa could never be prevailed upon to releaſe,

[a] Boſio, l. 8. t. 3. p. 152.

leaſe, whatever ranſom the order could offer. He has been already mentioned, when we ſpake of the iſland of Ero, which this knight, being but eighteen years old, defended with ſo much bravery againſt all the enterpriſes and attacks of the infidels. Simeoni, in this laſt conjuncture, bribed two renegado's, who were the ſlaves goalers, who being furniſhed, by their aſſiſtance, with hammers and files, he knocked off his chains, and helped to break thoſe of his companions[a]. They afterwards broke into the armory of the caſtle, armed themſelves with every thing that firſt came to hand, cut to pieces all ſuch of the Turkiſh ſoldiers as had remained in the caſtle, made themſelves maſters of it, and, after having barricaded the gates of it, and ſet a ſtrong guard in the principal places, the knight who was at the head of the enterpriſe, went up to the top of the caſtle, and diſplayed a white flag, to give the Chriſtian army notice to come to their aſſiſtance. Barbaroſſa, being told that a great noiſe had been heard in the caſtle, ran thither, crying out, that they ſhould open the gates to him; but was anſwered only by the fire of their muſket-ſhot, and a ſhower of ſtones, which the ſlaves threw at him. Upon which he cried out, in the utmoſt tranſports of fury: "All is loſt, ſince thoſe dogs are maſters of the caſtle and of my treaſures." He then immediately ran out of the city with *Devil-driver*, and as many Turks as he could get together; and before the emperor could have notice of this revolution, he fled, and got to the city of Bon, built near the antient Hippo[b], a city famous for being the epiſcopal ſeat of St. Auſtin, one of the four firſt fathers of the church, and its oracle next to St. Paul, in all thoſe things that relate to celeſtial grace.

SIMEONI, having notice of the flight of the corſairs, ſent advice of it to the emperor, who immediately advanced forward: The firſt object that preſented itſelf before him, at his entrance into that place, was this

[a] Franciſco de Medallino, and Vincent de Cattaro Giaffraga.

[b] Hormiſd. Epiſt. ad Poſſ.

knight, at the head of 6000 of his companions in ſlavery. Charles V. embracing him, cried out, "Brother "knight, bleſſed be for ever your courageous reſoluti- "on, which has made you break your chains, has fa- "cilitated my conqueſt, and heightned the glory of "your order." Simeoni, loaded with honour, went on board the gallies of Malta, where he ſaluted the general and his brethren. But the emperor's forces and the ſlaves diſperſed themſelves up and down the city, where they committed the moſt unheard-of exceſſes of all kinds, that one would have thought the Chriſtians had had a mind to go beyond the moſt barbarous nations in cruelty and laſciviouſneſs. The unhappy inhabitants of both ſexes ſuffered, in their perſons, and in thoſe who were deareſt to them, racks, and various kinds of torture, to force them to diſcover their hidden treaſures to their cruel conquerors; and when they had extorted all they could from them, they afterwards maſſacred them in cold blood. The young maidens were expoſed to an infamy, ſtill more odious and inſupportable than the moſt cruel puniſhments; and when the ſoldier was weary with butchering, or glutting his bruiſh luſt, without any reſpect to age, ſex, or birth, he loaded with chains all ſuch as fell into his hands. Young women of the greateſt beauty were torn from the arms of their mothers; and the officers kept them as their own booty, to make them adminiſter to their moſt infamous pleaſures.

AMONG theſe unfortunate ſlaves [a], was a young lady of exquiſite beauty, of one of the nobleſt houſes in the city, whoſe name was Ayſa She fell to the lot of a Spaniſh officer, who carried her into the camp, and put her in his tent. Muley Haſcen meeting her tied, in a manner altogether unworthy her noble birth, being moved to compaſſion, and perhaps with a ſenſation of a ſtronger nature, ſtopped her, and offered to purchaſe her of her maſter. But the Mooriſh lady, who was naturally proud, overcome with rage and grief, ſpit in his face; and cried out at the ſame time, "Be "gone,

[a] Boſio, t. 3. l. 8.

" gone," thou wicked and perfidious Haſcen, who to " recover a kingdom thou hadſt no right to, haſt ſcan" dalouſly betrayed thy country and thy nation." But this prince, on whom all this uſage could make no impreſſion, going on to offer the officer very conſiderable ſums for her ranſom, Ayſa, tranſported with fury, continued to cry out, " Be gone, I tell thee, I will not " have a tyrant for my deliverer."

WE are told, that above an hundred thouſand perſons were either killed or made ſlaves; many fell a ſacrifice to the fury of the ſoldiers; others, who thought to fly to the ſands and the neighbouring deſarts, were ſuffocated by the exceſſive heat of thoſe burning climates, and died of thirſt; and the number of priſoners, of both ſexes, was computed to be upwards of forty thouſand. The emperor being maſter of Tunis, reſtored Muley Haſcen to his throne, but upon condition that he ſhould hold it of the crown of Spain; and as a pledge of his fidelity, he kept the fort of Goletta in his own hands, whoſe fortifications he repaired. By this treaty he obliged the Mooriſh prince to pay the garriſon of it, and to ſend thither prince Mahomet, one of his children, with ſome other lords of his court, in quality of hoſtages. After this the emperor began to prepare to ſet out for Europe; but before he embarked, the 25th of July, being the day that the church celebrates the feaſt of St. James patron of Spain, this prince ſolemnized the commemoration of it in his camp. After he had heard maſs there, which was ſung to muſic, he dined on board the great gallion of Malta, called Caracca, where he was entertained by the knights with the greateſt magnificence. The emperor's deſign, after he had ſet ſail, was to paſs by Mehedia, a city of Africa, in order to make himſelf maſter of it; but there aroſe a violent tempeſt, which ſcattered his ſhips and gallies. At laſt this victorious fleet, after having paſſed through a great variety of dangers, came to Trepano in Sicily.

THE grand maſter ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to this city, to congratulate him upon the happy ſucceſs of his

arms. This prince answered, in the most obliging manner, that he owed the best part of it to the valour and courage of the knights; and, that the order might be always engaged to adhere to his interests, he bestowed very rich presents on the principal knights who had attended him in this expedition; and, by a fresh rescript, or grant, ordained, that the grand master and the council should draw from Sicily, custom free, all the ammunition and provisions they should want. By another edict, and a peculiar privilege, he declared, that no knight, under any pretence whatever, should enjoy, in the whole extent of his dominions, any possessions belonging to the order, without the express permission of the grand master and council, and unless the the originals of those grants had been seen by his majesty or his ministers, and registred in his council of state.

THE squadron of the order returned happily into the ports of Malta; but the joy of the knights was a little time after allayed by the death of the grand master, who had hardly enjoyed that great dignity a year. The order lost in him a worthy head, and a true religious. He, during his administration, had forbid the knights, under very severe penalties, indulging themselves in the custom, or rather the abuse which they had brought from Italy, of masking themselves during the carnival; and he substituted, instead of these bacchanals, tilts and tournaments, and several other military exercises, which he made them consider as recreations much more suitable to warriors.

'TWAS from the same strictness of discipline; and exact observance of the statutes, that he refused, in spite of all the instances the pope could make, to nominate to a vacant commandery a young knight, in prejudice of his seniors. He told this pontiff by letter, that, upon his accession to the grand mastership, he had taken the most solemn oaths, as well as all his predecessors, to observe the statutes of the order, and that he besought his holiness to dispense with his violating so

sacred

ſacred an obligation, which he had contracted at the foot of the altars, and on the holy goſpels.

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE, prior of Thouloufe, one of the moſt generous defenders of Rhodes, of whom mention has been made in the relation of that ſiege, ſucceeded Peter du Pont. He, in like manner as his predeceſſor, was elected in his abſence. The chevalier de Bourbon ſucceeded at the ſame time, by the death of brother Peter de Cluis, to the grand priory of France. The firſt uſe the new prior made of the riches annexed to his priory, was to give orders for the making of a ſumptuous piece of tapeſtry; in which, on a ground of ſilk heightned with gold, was ſeen the pictures of all the grand maſters,[a] drawn to the life, and after excellent originals, which had been brought from Rhodes: and as ſoon as ſo rich and curious a piece of furniture was finiſhed, he ſent it to Malta, and conſecrated it, to adorn the principal church in that iſland.

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE. 1536. 12th Nov.

THESE marks of the liberality and diſintereſtedneſs of the knights were not at that time uncommon in the order. The greateſt part of the commanders, particularly ſuch as were inveſted with the principal dignities of the order, uſed generouſly to conſecrate all the revenues of them in fitting out armaments againſt the infidels. The greateſt part of them fought rather for the glory than the profit which might accrue to them from their prizes; and we may affirm, that there were in all times more knights out at ſea than on ſhore, and reſiding on their commanderies. They were often ſeen returning into the port of Malta, dragging after them the veſſels and gallies of the infidels, out of which they immediately delivered the Chriſtian ſlaves of different nations; and theſe Chriſtians, after the recovery of their liberty, carried back into their reſpective countries, the teſtimony and remembrance of the zeal and valour of the knights.

AMONG

[a] Boſio, l. 8.

AMONG theſe illuſtrious perſonages, each of whom would merit a particular hiſtory, was reckoned Botigella, prior of Piſa, and general of the gallies; George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany; Grolée, bailiff of Lango; James Pelloquin, the grand maſter's lieutenant; Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua; Chateau-Renaud, marſhal of the order; the commander Pariſot de la Valette; and a great many others, whoſe names are mentioned in the memoirs of the order.

BUT no one at that time had rendered himſelf more formidable to the corſairs than the prior of Piſa, who was continually out at ſea. Not a ſingle corſair durſt come near the coaſts of Sicily and Malta, but he was immediately ſnapt up; and ſo great was the number of prizes he made that year, that the corſairs gave out, he had a familiar demon, in the ſhape of a dog, on board his galley, who gave him notice of the day of their departure from the coaſts of Africa, and the places where he might meet with them. Time had ſcarce ever produced a general, in whom was united ſo perfect a knowledge in ſea affairs, with ſo intrepid a bravery: he fell upon all he met, whether weak or ſtrong; and, without having any regard to any repriſals that might be made, hanged all ſuch renegadoes as fell into his hands; and being ſevere in command, he required the ſame bravery in his knights, of which he gave them an example: nor was he leſs ſtrict in the obſervance of military diſcipline; and after an expedition, in which he had made very conſiderable prizes, certain knights having made bold with ſome of the plunder, he had them put under an arreſt, and confined them, for a long time, as uſurpers of the property of the order. He was but juſt returned into the port of Tripoli, when they diſcovered about dusk, and from the top of the tower, three large galliots ſteering towards the iſland of Gerbes; upon which the captains of the galliots immediately deſired leave to go out of the port, and give them battle: "Don't you perceive, "replied that able ſeaman, that if they ſhould happen "to ſee you, the night, which is coming on, will favour

"your

" vour their eſcape before you can have time to come " up with them? Let them continue their courſe at " this time, but they ſhall not be got to ſuch a diſ- " tance, but I will be up with them by day-break." And indeed, no ſooner was night come, but he ſailed out of the port with three gallies, and ſtood for Gerbes, as well as the darkneſs would allow. It was ſcarce day break when he diſcovered thoſe gallies, who were ſailing in company; upon which he immediately began to give them chace. The corſairs ſeeing themſelves purſued, ſeparated; and one of the galliots endeavoured to gain the coaſts of Barbary; but a galley, called the *Cornue*, or the *Horned Galley*, intercepting it in its courſe, was ſoon up with it, and the knights, with ſabre in hand, attempted to board her. Immediately the Turks, who were in great numbers in that ſhip, threw themſelves on that ſide which the knights were for attacking: their too eager haſte, and the great number of men, who were all got to one ſide, occaſioned their deſtruction; for the galliot being overſet, ſunk to the bottom, in the ſight, and to the great regret of the knights, who were more afflicted for the death of the Chriſtian ſlaves that were drowned on that occaſion, than the loſs of a prize, which could not poſſibly have eſcaped them. The ſecond galliot met with almoſt the ſame fate, which the knights endeavoured to board; and as it was manned with a great number of Turks, they did not avoid fighting, but turned the prow againſt the galley of the order. On both ſides a numberleſs multitude of furious diſcharges were made, which diſabled a number both of Chriſtians and Turks. The pilot of the infidels, being more dextrous than that of the order, preſented a broadſide, and after having diſcharged a freſh volley of arrows, ſtood off to ſea: but general Botigella, who had reſerved himſelf to ſuccour that galley which ſhould be the moſt vigorouſly attacked, oppoſed the going off of the galliot, and came up with it prow againſt prow. The combat was now renewed with recruited fury; the *Courſier*, or great gun, and the muskets, made a furious

rious diſcharge on both ſides; the battle was maintained for a long time with equal advantage; victory ſhifted ſides alternately more than once. The corſairs, who were ſeamen that had been brought up in the midſt of fire, and the fury of arms, fought with intrepid fury. They more than once flattered themſelves with the hopes of forcing the wale of the galley, and obliging the knights, who defended it, to give way: but they were oppoſed with a ſet of intrepid men, who had ever been fearleſs of danger. This courageous body of ſoldiers threw themſelves, ſword in hand, into the galliot, at the ſame time that the ſoldiers of the *Cornue*, or horned galley, forced another part, and joined the ſoldiers of the admiral galley. 'Twas now not ſo much a combat, as a general maſſacre: The Chriſtian ſoldiers gave no quarter, but, hurried on by a thirſt after booty, ſo great a number of them flung themſelves into the ſhip, that, whether it were the prodigious weight of thoſe who entered it, and who were all on one ſide, or that it had ſprung a leak during the engagement, it ſunk to the bottom; when the victorious, confounded with the vanquiſhed, met with a like fate, and periſhed even in the midſt of victory.

THE largeſt of the galliots, commanded by Scander, a famous corſair, and by another rais, or captain, did his utmoſt to reach Zoara, thirteen miles diſtant eaſtward from the iſland of Zerbe, or Gelſey. But the chevalier Pariſot de la Valette, captain of one of the gallies, and the worthy companion of Botigella, purſued him ſo cloſe, that the Turks could not avoid fighting. This new engagement was as bloody as the former: Scander fought like a man who had ever been fearleſs of death, and who did not value being cut to pieces, provided he came off but with victory. The commander de la Valette, at the head of the knights of his galley, and expoſed to the arrows of the enemy, received two wounds with an arrow during the heat of the engagement, which prevented his perceiving it; but ſome time after a musket ball ſhattered his leg to pieces, and threw him upon the deck. Notwith-

withſtanding his diſtreſs, and his being half dead, he yet did not abate any thing of his uſual courage, and his ardent thirſt of victory. The knights and ſoldiers, animated by his cries, puſhed the infidels with ſo much intrepidity, that they forced their way into their ſhips. Here they were forced to come to a ſecond engagement; the Turks had rallied themſelves about the maſts, and they began to fall on a freſh. Theſe Barbarians, being mad through deſpair, and animated by the example of their officers, fought with incredible fury; and, though reduced to a ſmall number, they yet forced the Chriſtians to abandon their ſhip, and, after having diſengaged themſelves from the cramp irons, with which they had been faſtened to the gallies, they, in ſpite of all the efforts of the knights, ſtood off to ſea, and ſteered towards Zoara. They were got pretty near it, when the knights, who ſailed after their prey, came up with them. The fight was of new renewed, which was now the third time of engaging; but they were no more on an equal footing; for the Turks having loſt the greateſt part of their ſoldiers and ſailors, there ſcarce remained ſufficient to manage the ſhip; and the few that ſurvived, ſeeing the ſhore at hand, threw themſelves into the ſea, in order to reach it. But as a great number of them were wounded, the major part of them were drowned, among whom were two rais, or captains. Immediately the knights made themſelves maſters of the galliot, whence they delivered 200 Chriſtians: the Turks were chained down, and the renegadoes hanged. After which Botigella returned with triumph into the port of Tripoli with his prize.

THIS ſucceſs, and the continual war which the knights maintained againſt the African Turks, both by ſea and land, determined theſe Barbarians to drive them, if poſſible, out of Tripoli. The pirate Airadin, lord of Tagiora, being chiefly intereſted in this war, took upon himſelf the execution of this enterprize; and accordingly got together as many forces as he could from Tagiora, Gienzor, and d'Almaya, the rendezvous being at the tower of the Alcayd. He ſent out in the night-

night-time, and at day-break attempted a ſcalado at thoſe parts of the wall of Tripoli which he thought leaſt defended. He hoped to ſurpriſe the knights: but George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany, who commanded in Tripoli, having advice ſent him by his ſpies, which he kept in Tagiora, was under arms with the whole garriſon; and no ſooner did the Turks appear, but they were briskly plied with fire works, boiling oil, and ſtones; at the ſame that the artillery, and the musketeers of the place, fired inceſſantly on thoſe who were furtheſt off, and who ſuſtained thoſe who were at the head of the attack. Although Airadin ſaw plainly that he was diſcovered, he yet fought on with the ſame bravery and reſolution. His troops, after his example, made the moſt ſurpriſing efforts to get to the top of the wall; but it was lined with a good number of intrepid knights, who were fearleſs of death and wounds. Many died by the arrows and musket ſhot of the infidels. The Barbarians loſt a greater number of men; but their places were immediately filled up by the great number of forces they had brought along with them for this expedition; whereas the knights, on the contrary, who at that time were no more than forty in number, with a weak garriſon, drew no ſuccour but from their courage, which even ſeemed to increaſe, in proportion as their forces diminiſhed. The grand bailiff in particular ran up and down to thoſe places where the attack was warmeſt, and was ſeen at all of them almoſt at the ſame time. Airadin, for his part, did not omit one of the duties of a worthy commander, and, more by his example than his words, drew on his ſoldiers, and did his utmoſt to get to the top of the wall; but this general having been knocked off his ladder by a ball, his ſoldiers found it a very difficult matter to get him out of the ditch into which he was fallen. The Turks thinking him dead, loſt all their courage; they all made off, and left at the foot of the walls a great number of ſoldiers who had been killed there.

THE grand bailiff, after their retreat, diſpatched a brigantine to Malta, to give the grand maſter's lieutenant

nant and the council advice of the enterprize of Airadin; by his letter he repreſented to them, that as Tripoli was without baſtions and bulwarks, it would have been impoſſible for it to have held out againſt an army that ſhould have beſieged it in form; that they were even daily expoſed to be ſurpriſed in the ſame manner, and that in order to prevent it, and to drive the infidels from its neighbourhood, it would be neceſſary for them to raze the tower of the Alcayd, which held the place inveſted and blocked up on that ſide, and hindered the Chriſtians from trading with the Moors and Arabians, the inhabitants of the country, who were as great enemies to the Turks and corſairs as the knights.

THE council approved this enterpriſe, and appointed the commander Botigella, prior of Piſa, and general of the gallies, to head it. Accordingly he immediately put to ſea with 500 knights, and about 700 ſoldiers, which the order kept in conſtant pay at Malta; and the bailiff Schilling, governor of Tripoli, treated at the ſame with ſome *Cheques*, or Arabian lords, who, in conſideration of a certain ſum agreed upon between them, furniſhed him a body of horſe. Botigella having landed his forces at Tripoli, took thither what artillery he thought he ſhould ſtand in need of, and had it drawn by his ſlaves and the crew of his gallies, almoſt up to the tower he intended to beſiege; when, without ſtaying to open the trenches, he firſt raiſed his batteries, and contented himſelf with covering them with gabions. Airadin, at the noiſe of this attack, ran thither from Tagiora with what forces he had about him: but when he was got to the town of Adabus, which was not above three miles diſtant from the tower, he found himſelf ſtopped by the knights, who were at the head of the Arabian horſe. Airadin, not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to attack a body that was lined with 150 knights, contented himſelf with making a few light skirmiſhes, which gave opportunity to about 60 Turks to throw themſelves into the place. Notwithſtanding this ſuccour, general Botigella

tigella battered it continually; but perceiving that his artillery did not make so quick execution as he could have wished, he sent for the wales or bends from his gallies, which he employed as *mantlets*, or a movable pent-house; and being covered by this fence, he brought up the miners to the foot of the wall, which he blew up. Immediately the knights advanced up to the breach, which they found undefended; for the greatest part of the corsairs had been buried under the ruins of the mine. Such as had escaped, still stunned with the noise, seeing the knights masters of the breach, and with their swords drawn, threw down their arms. Botigella immediately razed the tower; and whilst the crew of the galley, and other slaves, were employed at this work, he advanced at the head of his little army towards Adabus, where Airadin was intrenched. He drove him from thence, abandoned the plunder of this town the Arabians; and, after having left in Tripoli a sufficient body of troops to reinforce the garrison, he reimbarked to return to Malta. In his course he met a great galeon that was coming from Egypt, freighted with rich merchandize, commanded by a famous Turkish captain called Ardon. Botigella made directly towards him with his gallies, came up with him, and, in spite of all the fire of his cannon, the knights immediately boarded him, leaped into the Turkish vessel with their drawn sabres, and made themselves masters of it. Two hundred Turks were made prisoners and slaves on this occasion, and the prize was valued at 160,000 crowns; after which, the fortunate Botigella, who justly deserved to be always so, returned into the port of Malta. The commander James de Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant, the greatest part of the lords of the council, and as many knights as were on the island, were at the port to receive him at his landing. As they had been informed of the happy success of his expedition, he was publicly praised, and congratulated upon that account; and all this illustrious body of soldiers led him, as it were, in triumph to the church

of

of St. Laurence, where he went to return thanks to God for the happy ſucceſs of his arms.

THEY were ſtill full of thoſe firſt emotions of joy, which the happy return of general Botigella gave the convent, when various accidents threw them into a general conſternation. A young novice, who aſpired to the chaplainſhip of the order, robbed the image of our lady of Philermos, which had been brought from Rhodes, of the pearls and precious ſtones with which it had been adorned. Some days after, an Engliſh knight, being diſtractedly in love with a Maltese woman, in the tranſports of rage and jealouſy, ſtabbed her with his own hand, upon very ſlight ſuſpicions. The grand maſter's lieutenant had the thief and the murderer ſeized; and after their being condemned by the ſecular judges of the iſland, they were carried at a mile diſtance from the port, when, being put into ſacks, they were thrown alive into the ſea.

To theſe misfortunes ſucceeded another, that was a ſubject of no leſs affliction to the whole body of the order. The chevalier de Varennes Nagu, commander of Trebous, arriving at Malta on the 10th of October, brought thither the ſad news of the death of the grand maſter de St. Jaille, who having ſet out from his priory of Toulouſe, in order to go to the convent, fell ſick at Montpelier, where he died on the 26th of September. The next day they met to chuſe him a ſucceſſor. Every one imagined, that the commander Botigella, or the lord de Grolée, otherways called the commander Paſſim, bailiff of Lango, would be elected to that dignity; both of them being antient knights, who, by their ſervices, their brave actions, and a ſingular piety, had deſerved ſo well of the order, and of all Chriſtendom. 26. Sept. 1536.

BUT a cabal, which was carried on by the chevalier Garcia Cortez, who happened to be at that time the electing knight, turned the majority of voices in

favour of the commander JOHN D'OMEDES, of the language of Arragon, and bailiff of Capsa. This bailiff had promised him along time before to procure him his bailiwick, provided he should come to the grand mastership by his means. The cunning Spaniard, being a man of intrigue, and who saw that the promotion of his friend would pave the way to his own, made a merit, to the sixteen electors, of a wound and the loss of an eye, which d'Omedes had sustained during the siege of Rhodes: probably also the subtle Spaniard, without insisting too much upon a wound, which is often an ambiguous mark of bravery, might have been artful enough to take advantage of the superiority which the knights of his nation, by the help of the emperor's power, had at that time in the assemblies of the order. Be that as it will, no sooner was the election of d'Omedes published, but the greatest part of the 360 knights, who composed the assembly, appeared in the highest consternation. The ill omens they presaged upon the government of the elect, were afterwards verified by an administration that was self-interested, partial, and even extremely harsh and rigorous.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

THE illustrious Botigella, so worthy of that high employment, was thrown aside, and did not keep even that of commander, or general of the gallies, with which Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, was afterwards invested. He was a young lord of one of the first houses of Florence, a near relation to Catherine of Medicis, queen of France, and on whom pope Clement VII. his uncle, at the same time that he gave him the habit of the order, had bestowed that dignity, of which he was actually in possession at the time of his being raised to the sovereign pontificate.

THE young prior, who had been made a captain before he had been a soldier, had first fought under the famous Andrew Doria, the emperor's general: the first essay he made in his command, was at his being, with four gallies of the order, at the taking of twelve others com-

commanded by a Turk, whoſe name was Ali Zelif, a great ſeaman, and commander of that ſquadron. Doria had 34 gallies, beſides thoſe of the order; and meeting the infidels in the channel of Corfu, he attacked them with that confidence which he had juſtly entertained from the ſuperior number of his gallies: but he experienced on that occaſion, that nothing is ſuperior to a reſolute courage. Ali had a great number of Janizaries on board his gallies, with orders to tranſport them into Dalmatia, where Solyman was getting together a body of forces. Theſe ſoldiers gave the moſt ſhining marks of bravery, and fought like men who were reſolved not to ſurvive their defeat. They levelled the fury of their arms chiefly upon the knights, their antient and eternal enemies; and two Turkiſh gallies, one of which was the admiral, inveſted the admiral galley of Malta. The firſt kept cloſe to the prow, and the other preſented her ſide, and a cruel and bloody combat enſued. The Turks attacking the knights very briskly, ſeveral of that order, and among the reſt Conſtans Opert, one of the principal officers on board the admiral galley, loſt their lives in the brave oppoſition they made againſt the Turks, who endeavoured to throw themſelves into this galley. Fortune ſeemed to favour them on that ſide; and they would perhaps have carried off the admiral galley, had not the prior of Capua, in this danger, commanded a culverine to be levelled againſt that galley, which lay long ſide by it. This ſaved the admiral: for the Turkiſh galley being ſtruck in her keel with that ſingle ſhot, was immediately filled with water, and ſunk to the bottom. The knights having thus got rid of an enemy on that ſide, turned all their force againſt the Turkiſh admiral galley. The combat being upon a more equal foot, became at the ſame time more bloody. The knights and Turks, with the deſign of making themſelves maſters of the oppoſite admiral galley, threw themſelves reciprocally upon each other's weapons. At length the knights ſeemed to have gained ſome advantage over the infidels; they forced the Janizaries,

and threw themſelves in crowds, with their drawn ſabres, into their galley. The Turks, being recovered from the prodigious ſurpriſe which ſo violent an attack had thrown them into, renewed the combat with recruited fury. The ſoldiers, tranſported with rage, would neither give nor take quarter. No ſooner one dropped, but his place was immediately filled up by another. Though the knights had cut moſt of the Turks to pieces, they were not yet maſters of the galley, and the few infidels that ſurvived, fought leſs to ſave their own lives, than to take away thoſe of ſome knights. They all ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces to the laſt man; and, what had been ſeldom ſeen in theſe kind of engagements, the prior took his galley, without making ſo much as a ſingle priſoner.

THE infidels, who were in the other gallies, diſcovered no leſs courage and intrepidity: notwithſtanding the great odds in the number of the ſhips, and though they were ſurrounded with 38 Chriſtian gallies, they yet fought with as much reſolution as thoſe of the admiral galley. At laſt the Chriſtians forced victory to declare herſelf in their favour; but they bought it at a very dear price; and not to mention a great number of ſoldiers, they loſt in it Anthony Doria, one of the general officers, the chevalier Copez, and a great number of others of the ſame order, who were either wounded, or loſt their lives in this engagement.

THE emperor's general having notice that ten French gallies were ſet ſail from the port of Marſeilles, to carry an embaſſador of Francis I. to Conſtantinople, lay under cape Paſſaro, in order to ſurpriſe them. The general of the order, that he might obſerve an exact neutrality between theſe princes, drew off from the body of the fleet. He employed this interval in ſcouring the coaſts of Calabria, and gave chace to two great galiots, and a corſair ſo'ſt, of which he made himſelf maſter, and delivered 400 Chriſtians out of ſlavery, whom he carried into the port of Malta, with the priſoners he had made. The whole body of people ran to congratulate him upon the happy ſucceſs of his firſt arms,

and

and drew the moſt happy preſages from thence; which he afterwards verified by the great actions he performed, both in the ocean and in the mediterranean. Scarce had this young general diſarmed his ſhips, when he heard, that Philip Strozzi his father had been taken priſoner in an engagement by young Coſmo of Medicis, duke of Florence; that this prince had cauſed him to be carried into that city, loaded with irons, and that they were actually at that time proſecuting him as a criminal of ſtate, and a rebel. The prior of Capua, in the deepeſt affliction at this diſmal news, begged the council to diſmiſs him; which having obtained, he hired a brigantine at his own expence, and immediately ſet ſail for Italy.

FOR the better underſtanding of this hiſtorical incident, which will have a very great influence on all we have occaſion to mention hereafter concerning the prior, who was one of the greateſt captains of his age, the reader muſt recollect the ſeveral paſſages in the foregoing book relating to the war which the emperor Charles V. had made againſt pope Clement VII. of the houſe of Medicis. During this war, and the impriſonment of this pontiff, the citizens of Florence had divided themſelves into two parties; the one who adhered to the houſe of Medicis, was for raiſing it to the throne, and abſolute monarchy: the other maintained the antient form of government, and was for maintaining their liberty, and a republican adminiſtration. As long as pope Clement and the emperor continued at variance, this laſt prince ſided publicly with the republicans; they relied entirely upon his protection, and the Medicis had been drove from Florence, as tyrants, and enemies of the public liberty.

BUT the emperor, whoſe reſolutions varied with his intereſt, being reconciled with the pope, the confidence of the Florentines abated, and their liberty was very much endangered. By the treaty made between the pope and Charles V. the Medicis were to be reſtored in Florence, to all the dignities and poſſeſſions they had enjoyed before their baniſhment; and by a ſecret article,

ticle, the emperor had engaged himſelf to eſtabliſh Alexander de Medicis, baſtard ſon of Laurence duke of Urbino; or, according to others, ſon to Clement himſelf, prince, and perpetual governor of that republic. This was the cauſe of the ſiege, which the troops of the pope and emperor, in concert, carried on before that place; and after having made themſelves maſters of it, that they might not terrify the republican party, the emperor would have the new prince take upon him no more than barely the title of governor of the republic of Florence. But Alexander, who was too young to preſcribe bounds to his ambition, and ſeeing himſelf afterwards the emperor's ſon-in-law, by his marriage with Margaret of Auſtria, natural daughter of that prince, affected mightily the majeſty of kings, and governed this ſtate with an haughtineſs and independence, which rendered him odious, not only to his fellow-citizens, but even to his very relations. Upon which a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of this prince, at the head of which was Philip Strozzi, husband of Clariſſa of Medicis, and ſiſter to pope Leo X. and he had the art to engage in the ſame plot Laurence of Medicis, couſin to the governor his next heir, and even his favourite. Perhaps, beſides the motive and pretext of defending the public liberty, he might have had an eye to that great ſucceſſion, and was more an enemy to the prince than to the principality. Be that as it will, this perfidious wretch, who adminiſtred to all the pleaſures of duke Alexander, pretending he had appointed him a rendezvous with a Florentine lady at his houſe, got him thither, and ſtabbed him. But inſtead of ſeizing upon the palace, and exciting the people by the hopes, and the ſpecious bait of liberty, to take up arms in his favour, trouble, aſtoniſhment, and fear, ſucceeded to ſo cruel an action. He fled, and the partizans of the houſe of Medicis, recovering from their ſurpriſe, and being unable to ſupport themſelves without a head, filled up the dignity of duke Alexander with Coſmo de Medicis, tho' of a diſtant branch, a youth ſcarce ſixteen, yet of a judgment vaſtly ſuperior

to

to his years, and who, in ſo delicate a juncture, diſcovered as much courage as ambition. He was ſon to John of Medicis, one of the moſt famous captains of Italy, and of Mary Salviati, a woman as much celebrated for her noble extraction, as for her wiſdom and conduct. This lady, ever ſince the death of John of Medicis, had lived in widow-hood with great auſterity, and, ſhutting herſelf up in her houſe, had employed all her thoughts in the education of young Coſmo. Upon the firſt news ſhe had of their deſign to advance her ſon to the dignity which duke Alexander had enjoyed, whether it were maternal tenderneſs inſpired her with fear, when ſhe thought of his filling up ſo dangerous a poſt; or that, as ſome hiſtorians have advanced, that generous woman preferred the liberty of her country to the aggrandizing of her ſon, ſhe employed her tears and intreaties to diſſuade him from accepting it. But Coſmo, either more reſolute, or more ambitious, without liſtening to her remonſtrances, abandoned himſelf to the partizans of his houſe By their credit, he was acknowledged for governor of the common-wealth in a public aſſembly: and the emperor having notice of the fatal death of his ſon-in-law, confirmed this diſpoſition. Coſmo took the reins of government into his hands; and, tho' ſo young, conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence, that it would not be eaſy to determine, whether he was moſt indebted to his skill, or his good fortune, for the principality of Florence.

STROZZI, and the Partizans for a republican government, ſeeing the Medicis party prevail in the city, withdrew out of it, and gave out ſecret commiſſions for the levying of forces, to enable themſelves to return into it ſword in hand. They flattered themſelves, that young Coſmo, buſied with the cares of his infant government, would not ſo ſoon be able to purſue them. But this prince, who had faithful ſpies in all their cabals, ſoon had notice of their armament; and, in order that they might not have time to increaſe it, he went out of Florence at the head of his friends, and the ſtanding forces of the government; and ſtrengthned

by

by the authority of the laws, of which he himſelf was the depoſitory, he marched directly againſt the Strozzi, who were publicly proſcribed by the magiſtracy. Both parties met near Marono, a village not far from Florence, and ſoon engaged; but 'twas rather a rout than a battle. The greateſt part of the conſpirators, fearing to fall into the hands of their enemies, took to their heels. Strozzi, and a few faithful friends, who were reſolved not to abandon him, ſtood their ground, and fought like deſperadoes, who were reſolved to be cut to pieces; but they were diſappointed. Coſmo, whom it ſo nearly concerned to have the moſt exact account of the forces, and the ſecret correſpondence of that party, had given orders that their lives ſhould be ſpared, in which he was obeyed, for they contented themſelves with ſurrounding them; when being diſarmed, they were immediately put in irons, and were carried into the priſons in Florence; after which they began to proſecute them.

'TWAS on ſuch diſmal news, that the prior of Capua ſet out from Malta for Italy, to labour at the procuring of his father's liberty. But being arrived at Naples, he was informed, that he had killed himſelf in priſon during his confinement; whether it were to avoid the ignominy of his execution, or, as ſome hiſtorians have given out, thro' fear leaſt the violence of the rack, and other kinds of torture, ſhould extort from him the name of the ſecret partizans which he had in the city. This man, whom the heathens of antiquity would have adored, but whom the Chriſtians condemn, killed himſelf with a ſword, which had been left in his chamber. The following verſe of Virgil was found upon the mantle-tree, which he had engraved with the point of his ſword.

Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor!

O may there riſe ſome 'venger of our blood!

Virgil.

His

His children, faithful to their father's memory, devoted themſelves to revenge his death, but in a glorious manner, which the laws authoriſed. As they conſidered the emperor as no other than the ſubverter of the liberty of their country, and the indirect author of their father's death, they went over to the French, and ſerved in their armies. Peter Strozzi the eldeſt roſe by his valour to the dignity of marſhal; and the prior of Capua diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſea-ſervice, in which he commanded as general of the gallies: nor was he leſs ſerviceable to his own order, as we ſhall find in the ſequel of this hiſtory; and would afterwards have been choſen grand maſter, had not they been apprehenſive that he, in order to gratify his particular reſentment, would have broken through the neutrality which the grand maſters, and the body of the order, had always profeſſed to obſerve with regard to Chriſtian princes.

DURING his abſence and his ſtay in Italy, the chevalier Paul Simeoni, prior of Lombardy, who had contributed ſo much to the taking of Tunis, was made general of the gallies, and ordered ſoon after to go along with the marqueſs of Terra Nova, to the port of Suſa in Africa, which having revolted from Muley Haſcen, king of Tunis, that prince intended to beſiege.

SUSA ſtood upon a rock near the ſea, at eight or nine leagues diſtance from Tunis, beyond Cape-bon. Its haven is ſecure, and, like the place, defended by an old caſtle, which is fortified and ſurrounded by ditches, with an eſplanade quite round. The Turks, ſince the emperor's return from the conqueſt of Tunis, had ſeized on moſt of the places which lay along the coaſt, and had ſhut up Muley Haſcen in his capital; who, in order to recover the entire poſſeſſion of his dominions, and to clear them of ſuch uſurpers, had applied to the order of St. John. In purſuance of which, he ſent an embaſſador, Camugi by name, to Malta, to implore ſuccours from the knights. That miniſter, in order to engage them in this enterpriſe, repreſented to them, that the corſairs had fortified Tachiora; that they had put a ſtrong garriſon in it, under the command of Morat-Aga,

one

one of the principal captains of Barbaroſſa; that they expected that general of the corſairs with a large fleet; and that the order would never be able to keep Tripoli, if they did not traverſe his deſigns. The grand maſter thought proper to ſend this advice to the emperor, who finding that the defence of Muley his vaſſal concerned himſelf more nearly than it did the order, preſſed the grand maſter to join his forces to thoſe of Sicily, in order to clear the coaſt of Barbary of the Corſairs; and at the ſame time ordered his viceroy to furniſh Muley all the ſuccour he ſhould have occaſion for, to form the ſiege of Suſa.

THE grand maſter, and the viceroy, fitted out fourteen gallies, on board of which were a good number of knights and troops, in the ſervice of the order; to which the viceroy joined 3000 foot as his quota, under the command of the marqueſs of Terra Nova, a Sicilian nobleman, who was to be general of the land forces, whilſt the general of the gallies of the order kept out, and commanded at ſea.

THIS ſquadron, paſſing through the channel of Malta, came off the place where Muley had pitched his camp. The marqueſs of Terra Nova, and the knights, landed their troops and a train of artillery, which the king of Tunis wanted; they then opened the trenches, and planted batteries, which began to play upon the weakeſt part of the town, which they would infallibly have taken, had not the marqueſs been impoſed upon by a renegado, who had adviſed him to change the place of his battery. This renegado, feigning to have made his eſcape, and pretending to be greatly grieved for his having quitted his religion and his country, threw himſelf at the marqueſs's feet, ſhedding a flood of tears at the ſame time, and begged him to pardon his deſertion and apoſtacy. The marqueſs, deceived by theſe ſpecious marks of his repentance, promiſed him the utmoſt ſecurity in his army; and alſo, that after the taking of Suſa, he would carry him back to Europe. He then began to enquire of the renegado about the condition of the place, to whom the traitor gave

gave an account, agreeable to what he had concerted before with the governor: he particularly told him, with an air of the utmoſt ſincerity, that the quarter which his cannon played upon was the ſtrongeſt part of the place; that the wall there was ſtrengthened with a rampart, and that tho' they might poſſibly ruin and beat it down, they yet would find deep intrenchments behind it, fortified with flanks and redans, and lined with a good number of musketeers to keep off the aſſailants; and added moreover, that the governor, finding him engaged in attacking that place, had made his boaſts, that all the Chriſtians ſhould periſh in it. The marqueſs, to whom this account gave no ſmall uneaſineſs, asked him which was the weakeſt poſt of the place: which being juſt what the renegado wanted, he ſhewed him the ſtrongeſt part; when the marqueſs, deceived by the advice of this inſidious wretch, changed his batteries and made all his efforts againſt ſome towers which flanked the caſtle. Theſe towers, the renegado aſſured him, would be demoliſhed by his cannon in a moment; but they ſpent all the powder they had brought from Malta and Sicily, on making only a very narrow breach. However, as their ammunition failed, the marqueſs, who was not yet undeceived, reſolved to attempt an aſſault. In purſuance of which, an hundred and thirty knights, and four hundred ſoldiers in the ſervice of the order, mounted it firſt; who, though they could march only in files, one after another, they yet got to the top of the breach, where they intended to have made a lodgement; but they met with ſuch large and deep intrenchments before them, and were expoſed to ſuch vollies of ſhot from the muskets, and croſs-bows in the flanks, as obliged them to retire. They then propoſed to turn the attack and the batteries on another ſide but were prevented by the want of powder. 'Twas with the utmoſt anguiſh, that the marqueſs ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, who, before he reimbarked, reſolved to vent his anger on the renegado; but that villain, pleaſed with the happy ſucceſs his artifice had met with, was fled back into the town, to re- ſt

the reward of his treachery and hypocriſy; and the knights, after having left a great number of their comrades and ſoldiers at the foot of the walls, and on the breach, returned deſponding to Malta, where they complained that the emperor had ſacrificed the forces of the order, under a general ſo very unfit to command over them.

THE commander Botigella ſeconded theſe juſt complaints with his advice. He was juſt returned from his government of Tripoli, which being expired, Ferdinand de Bracamont, commander of Ecolca, was nominated his ſucceſſor; and Alonſo Cordan, a knight of great reputation, was to command the cavalry of the place. Botigella, on his return, took occaſion, from the ill ſucceſs of the ſiege of Sufa, to repreſent to the grand maſter and council, that experience ought to have made them ſenſible, how impracticable it was for the Chriſtians ever to make any fixed and durable conqueſts on the coaſt of Africa, and among the Moors; and that, either from the averſion which a difference of religion is apt to inſpire, or from the natural inconſtancy of thoſe people, who were altogether as unfaithful to ſovereigns of their own nation, as they were to foreigners; that moſt of the cities along the coaſt of Africa, ſince the return of Charles V. had revolted more than once; that the wars which they maintained, and the ſquadrons which they fitted out to aſſiſt the emperor, drained the order of its beſt ſubjects, and coſt them immenſe ſums; that the ceſſion, which that prince had made, or, to ſpeak more properly, the burthenſome condition which he had laid upon them, of undertaking the defence of ſuch a place, which he had annexed to the conveyance of the iſle of Malta, ought to be conſidered as a fatal preſent to the order; and that the only remedy left was to deliver it back immediately to that prince; or, in caſe of his inſiſting on the knights continuing ſtill there, to inſiſt that he himſelf ſhould put it in a ſtate of defence, and be at the expence of raiſing the fortifications, and other works neceſſary to enable it to ſuſtain a ſiege.

WHAT

WHAT deference ſoever the council might have for the opinion of Botigella, they yet thought proper, in ſo important an affair, to conſult ſuch knights as were beſt ſkilled in fortification, and particularly thoſe who had commanded in the place. Theſe all unanimouſly concluded that it was not tenable; and, upon their report, the council diſpatched the bailiff de Grolée to the emperor. He, after his arrival at his court, repreſented to him, that it would be impoſſible to keep Tripoli, unleſs they fortified it with walls of a neceſſary height and thickneſs; that ditches of a proper breadth, and bulwarks for its better defence, were wanting; that unleſs theſe precautions ſhould be taken, they would only expoſe all the knights there to be cut to pieces; that if the town ſhould be taken, it would be impoſſible for the caſtle, which was built after the antique faſhion, to hold out above a few days; and, laſtly, that it was perhaps more the emperor's intereſt to abandon ſuch a weak place, to blow up the caſtle, and fill up the mouth of the harbour. But the emperor, who was neither willing to be at the expence of fortifying it, nor to deprive himſelf of a port which ſerved as a key to Africa, and coſt him nothing for its defence, ordered the bailiff to tell the grand maſter from him, that he would neglect nothing to put Tripoli in a condition of defence; that he deſired the order to keep always a ſtrong garriſon in it, and that in caſe the infidels ſhould beſiege it, He would immediately ſend poſitive orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to throw in all the neceſſary ſuccours. he continued to ſay, that he hoped to be able, in a little time, to drive all the Turkiſh corſairs out of the coaſts of Africa, and that till ſuch time as he could turn his arms on that ſide, the order would oblige him in joining their gallies to the fleet he had ſent into the Mediterranean.

THE bailiff, at his return, having given the council an account of the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, they immediately fitted out four gallies, having on board 200 knights, under the command of Simeoni bailiff of Lombardy, who joined the Chriſtian army at Meſſina,

which Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi, and great admiral to the emperor, commanded. This general was a Genoeſe, and born of a noble family, which he rendered ſtill more illuſtrious by his prodigious bravery. King Francis I. and pope Clement VII. had both of them given him the command of their fleets. After having quitted the king's ſervice, he went to the emperor's. This prince, whoſe intrigues were more formidable than his ſword, and who was ſo artful in corrupting his enemy's generals, got this Genoeſe over to his ſide, by the offers he made him of an annual penſion of 60,000 ducats, and alſo of maintaining conſtantly twelve gallies under his command; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that Genoa ſhould enjoy its liberty, under the emperor's protection, and that Savona ſhould be reduced under their dominion. Doria, after having agreed to theſe articles, gave out, in order to juſtify his changing ſides, that the king of France did not pay him the ſubſidies ſtipulated for maintaining his gallies; that he had baulked him of the ranſom he was to have for the prince of Orange, his priſoner of war; and that, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he had uſed with the miniſters of Francis I. in favour of the Genoeſe his countrymen, he yet could never prevail ſo far as to have them treated with leſs oppreſſion and ſeverity. 'Tis pretended, that this laſt motive of complaint had a greater influence on his ſhifting ſides than all the reſt; and that this general, who was fond of glory, flattered himſelf, that he ſhould immortalize his name, by delivering his country from the dominion of the French. Probably too, that under colour of the emperor's protection, and the ſhadow of this liberty, he might at the ſame time have had an eye to the eſtabliſhing his own authority there, for the rule of the government.

WHATEVER might be the ſource of theſe different motives, 'tis certain, that France could hardly have ſuffered a more conſiderable loſs, or the emperor have made a more uſeful acquiſition; for he employed him equally againſt Solyman and Francis I. and in the preſent occaſion,

caſion, he not only commanded the veſſels of Charles V. but had likewiſe the ſupreme authority over all the reſt, in quality of generaliſſimo over all the fleet of the Chriſtian league.

THE pope was alſo engaged in this league, which the emperor and the order of Malta had made; and their buſineſs now was to draw the Venetians into it; but they carefully avoided all occaſions of coming to a rupture with Solyman, a formidable prince, whoſe territories were adjoining to thoſe of that republic. Doria, in order to render them ſuſpected to Solyman, and make as if thoſe republicans were to act in concert with him, wrote to Girolamo Pezaro, their general; by which he told him, that it would be neceſſary to attack the Turks, before their ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould be joined. He ſent this letter by a ſmall bark, which, as he deſigned it, fell into the infidels hands, which they ſent immediately to Solyman, who thereupon made bitter complaints of it to the bailo or embaſſador of the commonwealth. In vain did that miniſter proteſt that the republic of Venice had no intelligence with Charles V, all his oaths and proteſtations made no great impreſſion on Solyman. "There is, ſays that prince to him, but "one way left to juſtify your maſters, which is, that "they immediately ſign a league with me againſt the "emperor, and join their ſhips to my fleet, in order "to attack his dominions." The ſenate, whoſe fundamental maxim was the obſerving of a neutrality, rejected the propoſal; and an accident happened, at the ſame time, which furniſhed an occaſion or pretence for a rupture.

THE Sultan's imperial galley being ſeparated by a ſtorm, fell by night into the fleet of the Venetians, when Alexander Contarini, proveditor-general of the army, taking it in the dark for a veſſel belonging to the corſairs, attacked it, killed the rais or commander, cut 300 janizaries to pieces, and made himſelf maſter of it. Solyman made great complaints on this ſubject, and demanded that Contarini ſhould be delivered into his hands, to be puniſhed; but not being able to attain

this ſatisfaction, he declared war againſt the Venetians. Whatever ſhare the knights might have in this war, 'twould be foreign to my preſent purpoſe to enter into the detail of it; all I ſhall obſerve is, that the Chriſtian and Turkiſh fleets met near a bay of the Adriatic; that they cannonaded each other furiouſly; but that the Turks, who were under Barbaroſſa's command, finding themſelves to be weaker, retired into the bay of Arta, to avoid coming to a general engagement; that ſeveral battles had been fought, but not one of them deciſive; and finally, that Doria, notwithſtanding his having been earneſtly ſollicited by the patriarch of Alexandria, who commanded the pope's ſquadron, and by the knights of St. John, had yet obſtinately refuſed, under pretence that there was not wind enough for his ſhips to advance againſt the enemy; and had looked quietly on, whilſt Barbaroſſa made his eſcape, for fear of deſtroying the only general the enemy had, who was formidable to his maſter; ſince, that as long as Barbaroſſa ſhould be living, he would be neceſſary to the emperor: a piece of policy, which both Barbaroſſa and Doria reciprocally obſerved, who, without any concerted intelligence between them, never puſhed their advantage contrary to their reſpective intereſts, ſo far as to get rid of an enemy, who, tho' he were a rival, was yet of uſe to enhance their ſeveral talents and capacities.

THE Chriſtians were leſs ſucceſsful at land than they had been at ſea. The conqueſt of Hungary had always made part of the vaſt project, or, to ſpeak more properly, part of the chimera of an univerſal monarchy aſcribed to Charles V. In conſequence of which, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who was brother to the emperor, in concert with him, or rather by his orders, had actually inveſted the town of Buda; and Rocandolf, one of his generals, was carrying on the ſiege with great vigour. Solyman, who was jealous of any acceſſion of power to the houſe of Auſtria, and under pretence that Sepuſius, the laſt king of Hungary, had, by his will, appointed him to be tutor to his infant ſon,

ſon, ſent Mahomet, one of his baſhas, to throw ſuccours into the place. The Turkiſh general attacked and forced the lines of the Auſtrians, cut above 20,000 men to pieces, either put to flight, or took priſoners the poor remains of the army; and Solyman, arriving ſoon after in Hungary, entered into Buda, into which he put a ſtrong garriſon, under pretence of preventing the deſigns of Ferdinand; and, in order to cloak his uſurpation, declared publicly, that as ſoon as the young king ſhould be of age, he would deliver him up the place.

1. NOTWITHSTANDING a ſolemn promiſe made, which ambitious princes never want pretences to excuſe themſelves from performing, this enterpriſe of the grand ſignior alarmed the Hungarians no leſs than the Germans. No body queſtioned but that the emperor would bring a mighty force into the field, in order to rid himſelf of ſo formidable a neighbour: 'twould have been a ſight altogether worthy the attention of all other monarchs, to ſee thoſe two great princes, both of them ſo powerful and ſo ambitious, fighting againſt each other, and diſputing the entire poſſeſſion of Hungary in the field. But whether it were that Charles V. did not care to truſt his glory to fortune, or that he flattered himſelf with ſucceeding in another enterpriſe, the event of which was leſs doubtful; that prince, whoſe deſigns were always impenetrable, left the defence of Hungary to the king his brother, in order to attack Africa, and fall upon the dominions of Barbaroſſa. The abſence of that corſair king, who was gone to Conſtantinople, made him flatter himſelf that he ſhould meet with a weak oppoſition in the taking of Algiers; and he hoped to have the ſame ſucceſs in the ſiege of this place, as he had had in that of Tunis. For which end, he iſſued out orders in Spain, in Naples, and in Sicily, for making preparations ſuitable to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe. Ferdinand Cortez, the Spaniard who acquired ſo much glory by the diſcovery and conqueſt of Mexico, was appointed to command the armament that was to be made in Spain. Ferdinand de Gonzaga, and

Don

Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroys of Sicily and Naples, carried on their preparations with as great application in thoſe two kingdoms. They drew a good body of cavalry from Germany, and the county of Burgundy; and Camillo Colonna, Auguſtin Spinola, and Antonio Doria, having the commiſſion of colonels, made levies of foot all over Italy.

THE grand maſter of Malta received a letter at the ſame time from the emperor, written in the moſt obliging terms, by which the knights were invited to join their forces to his, for the undertaking of an holy war, which, he aſſured them, was deſigned only for the deſtruction of the corſairs, and the enemies of the order. So great was the number of knights who offered themſelves for this expedition, that Malta and the convent would have been left deſart, had not the grand maſter prudently limited this ſuccour to four hundred knights. Theſe went on board four gallies of the order, each knight being attended with two ſervants well armed; and George Schilling, great bailiff of Germany, and at that time general of the gallies of the order, was appointed to command the ſquadron; who, in the port of Bonifacio, joined part of the emperor's fleet, commanded by him in perſon, from whence they went to Majorca, where the ſhips and gallies had orders to rendezvous before the end of September.

THERE was no one that could flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſucceeding in an enterpriſe, which was undertaken when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced: but as the emperor purſued it with great vigour, the courtiers, whoſe whole employment is flattery, were not willing to ſuggeſt to him a truth ſo contrary to his inclination. So that there was no one but Andrew Doria, the great admiral, and the marqueſs del Guaſto, general of the land forces, that durſt preſume to repreſent to him the perils to which he was going to expoſe himſelf: and Doria, who was the greateſt ſeaman of his age, told him, that no pilot, in ſuch a ſeaſon, durſt venture out to ſea for any time, without the utmoſt neceſſity; that the ſea of Barbary was at that time very

ſubject

ſubject to ſtorms, and that he was afraid leſt a guſt of wind ſhould ſcatter his fleet, and hinder the ſucceſs of his arms: and the venerable old man added, in his military ſtile, "Suffer yourſelf, ſays he to him, to be diverted from this enterpriſe, for if we ſhould go, we "ſhall be all loſt by God." To which the emperor replied, laughing, "Two and twenty years of empire "for me, and three-ſcore and twelve of life for you, "ought to ſatisfy us, ſo as to make us both die contented." And ſo, without altering his reſolution, he went on board, ſet ſail towards Algiers; when, after having met with a pretty violent ſtorm, he at laſt got into the road of Algiers, where he arrived on the 24th, or, as others have it, on the 26th of October.

THOUGH the wind was down, yet the ſea ſtill ran ſo high, that they were forced to defer the landing for two days, in order to prevent the ſoldiers being forced to wade through the water up to the middle. It was afterwards made, without any great oppoſition from the infidels, when ſixty gallies put their troops aſhore, and the great ſhips landed theirs in boats: After their diſembarkation, the army on land was found to conſiſt of 20,000 foot, and 6000 horſe. The emperor, in order to prevent jealouſies, which too often ariſe between different nations, divided his troops into three bodies; the firſt was compoſed of Italians, to whom he joined the knights and ſoldiers of Malta, under the command of the grand bailiff, who received no orders from any body but the emperor. The Spaniards, all of them old ſoldiers, were put in the ſecond body; and the Germans, Burgundians, and a great number of volunteers, compoſed the third. The Spaniards had the van, the Italians the main body, where the emperor was in perſon, and the Germans were put in the rear. Every one of theſe bodies had three field-pieces at the head of their line, to play upon the Arabs, who, without keeping any order, made their attack, did what execution they could, then wheeled off, and were inceſſantly returning to the charge.

THE

THE emperor ordered the battalion of Malta to extend itself to the left of the main battle, to repulse those light horse; the knights were on foot, armed with cuiraſſes and head-pieces, and a long or half pike in their hands. The author of a relation ſent to the pope, obſerves, that their ſubreveſts were all of damask or crimſon velvet, on which their white croſſes being placed, made a glittering ſhew; and that they diſcovered ſuch an air of grandeur and intrepidity, as gave terror to all ſuch Barbarians as durſt approach them. The emperor's head quarters were marked out between two brooks; and he planted heavy artillery all around a little hill, which at the ſame time played both upon the town and the country.

THE city of Algiers, built in form of an amphitheatre, ſtands on the declivity of a hill over againſt the port; the foundation of which is aſcribed to the ſon of Juba king of Mauritania. Barbaroſſa, at his ſetting out for Conſtantinople, committed the government of it to an old eunuch, named Haſcen, who was an aga, and a renegado of the iſland of Sardinia, a great ſeaman, and one in whom he entirely confided. The emperor, before he attacked the place, diſpatched a gentleman to him, to perſuade him to ſurrender it. The envoy, in order to determine him to it, gave him an account of the emperor's power, his forces, his land and ſea armies, at the ſame time offering him conſiderable ſums; and concluding his diſcourſe with a repreſentation, that he ought to make uſe of this occaſion to return into his own country, and of being re-admitted into the boſom of the church, from which he had been unhappily divorced by his unfortunate circumſtances. The eunuch heard him out with patience, but all the anſwer he returned him, was, "That it was a great "piece of folly for any one to take upon himſelf to "adviſe an enemy; but that it was a much greater "to hearken to the advice that an enemy gave." Upon which, he immediately diſmiſſed the gentleman.

THE governor had with him 800 Turks, who were old and experienced ſoldiers, and about 6000 inhabi-

inhabitants, partly Moors, and partly refugees of Granada, all bearing arms, and all to a man reſolved to be killed upon the ſpot, rather than fall again under the dominion of the Spaniards. The aga had likeways ſent money and preſents to ſeveral captains of the Arabs, in order to engage them to ſcour the country, and harraſs the camp of the Chriſtians; to which they had but too natural a propenſity, from the genius of their nation, which ſubſiſts only by incurſions and plunder. All the plain was ſoon covered over with them; moſt of them had long javelins, which they hurled with ſo much dexterity, that the Chriſtians found it a very difficult matter to parry the ſtroke.

WHILST theſe light horſe were continuing their skirmiſhes, there aroſe, as night was coming on, a terrible ſtorm, attended with an exceſſive cold rain, and which powered down in ſuch floods, that it filled the Chriſtian camp with water. The rain ſoaked the ground to ſuch a degree, that they could march only in dirt and mire; beſides, as they had not had time ſufficient for the landing of their tents and equipages, the whole army had nothing but the sky to cover them; ſo that the ſoldiers matches were quite put out, and the powder in their pouches all wet. The governor, in order to make his advantage of this diſaſter, ſallied out at day-break, with part of the garriſon, who firſt fell upon three companies that were poſted upon a ſtone-bridge, which led to one of the gates of the town: and the infidels, finding theſe ſoldiers benumbed with cold, cut them to pieces. This little ſucceſs encouraged them to fall upon the emperor's quarter; but the colonels Colonna and Spinola ran thither, at the head of their regiments, ſuſtained by the knights of Malta, who, though on foot, fell in ſo furiouſly among the Turkiſh and Mooriſh cavalry, that they killed a great number of them, and diſmounted ſeveral. The author, to whom I am obliged for part of this relation, ſays,* that a French knight, brother Nicholas de Villegagnon

* Relation du ſiege d'Alger addreſſée au pape Paul III. par le ſecretaire de ſon legat.

non by name, throwing himſelf, with an impetuoſity, natural to his country, into the midſt of the infidels, was wounded in the left arm by a Mooriſh horſeman, who ſtruck him with his lance; but that the knight, having miſſed the thruſt he made at him with pike, as the Moor was turning his horſe to give him a ſecond blow, the knight, who was very tall, and of a ſtrength proportionable to his ſtature, leaped upon the crupper of his enemy's horſe, gave him a ſtab, and threw him to the ground. Nor were his companions inferior to him in bravery; for they all rallied about the ſtandard of the order, when Ferdinand de Gonzaga, one of the emperor's lieutenant generals, addreſſing himſelf to the grand bailiff of the order, cried out, "Courage my "brave commander; 'tis not enough for us to beat "theſe dogs, we muſt purſue them, and enter with them "into Algiers; 'tis diſtined for your knights alone "to finiſh a war before it be begun, and take a place "of ſuch ſtrength without arms or artillery." The knights, who, by this time, had little ſtrength left but what their courage ſupplied them with, did not yet need to be encouraged with ſuch diſcourſes; but, inflamed with the higheſt ardor, purſued the enemy to the very gates of the city, and were juſt ready to throw themſelves into the place, when the governor, who was reſolved to ſacrifice all his ſoldiers who were out of the city, to the fury of the Chriſtians, ordered the gates to be ſhut. The above mentioned writer relates, that the chevalier Ponce de Savignac, a Frenchman, who carried the ſtandard of the order, fixed his dagger in the gate, as a proof that he had advanced as far as it was poſſible for him to go. As the rain ceaſed in the morning, the old governor ſeeing from the walls that his ſoldiers, in this ſally, had had none but the knights, and ſome Italian companies to fight with, he ordered the artillery, which was upon the town rampart on that ſide, to be levelled againſt them; and, at the ſame time, in order to prevent their retreat, he made a ſecond ſally with the beſt troops of his garriſon, armed with iron croſs-bows, which were of great uſe to them

in

in rainy weather. They were now come a ſecond time to a cloſe engagement, when moſt of the Italians, who were raw ſoldiers, that had never ſeen a battle, and being alſo benumbed with cold, either ran away, or ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces, without offering to make the leaſt defence. The emperor, having notice of the danger to which the knights were expoſed, ſent ſome companies of Germans to their ſuccour: the bailiff Schilling, of the ſame nation, put himſelf at their head, made a freſh charge upon the infidels, puſhed them a ſecond time to the gates of Algiers, and brought back his troops covered with glory and wounds. The infidels ſhot poiſoned arrows, ſo that all who were wounded with them died afterwards, and among the reſt, brother Ponce de Savignac, ſtandard-bearer of the order, the very knight who had ſtuck his dagger in the gate of Algiers. This brave man, notwithſtanding his having received a large wound from a croſs-bow, and though he felt the poiſon creeping forward, and approaching his heart, he yet had the courage and ſtrength to carry his ſtandard, ſupported only by a ſoldier, always aloft, and would not quit it till the moment he expired. 'Tis ſaid, that the order, beſides this knight, and the chevalier de Villars, of the language of Auvergne, who was diſabled by his wound, loſt above 75 knights on this occaſion; among which are reckoned brother Diego de Coutreas a Spaniard, brother Lopez Alvarez a Navarette, brother John di Pennas a Caſtilian, brother Peter de Reſſay, John Babot, Charles de Gueval, and John Pinard, all Frenchmen, brother Joſeph de la Coſa, and brother Maria Catracanti, Italians, three chaplains of the order, and about 400 ſoldiers in the ſervice of the order.

BUT this loſs was inconſiderable, if compared to that which the emperor ſuſtained that day, by the loſs of the greateſt part of his fleet. Black clouds began to hide the light of the ſun, after which followed ſuch a violent ſtorm, that it looked as if the winds, the ſea, the earth, lightning, thunder, rain, and all the elements confounded, had conſpired together to deſtroy

the army of the Chriſtians. The ſhips, driven from their anchors by the violence of the ſtorm, ſeemed one while to be carried aloft in the clouds by mountains of water, and the next moment ſunk down in the gaping ocean, and ſeemed to be plunged to the very bottom of it. Some of them, toſſed by the violence of the winds, the pilots and mariners being no longer able to manage them, ſtruck, and were daſhed to pieces againſt one another; others, driven along the coaſt by the force of the tempeſt, ſplit upon the rocks, and were beat to pieces; ſo that in leſs than half an hour, fifteen gallies and eighty ſix veſſels were loſt. That which made this loſs ſtill greater was, that theſe ſhips were laden with proviſions; by which misfortune, the land army loſt likeways all hopes of ſubſiſtence; and eſpecially in a country that was deſert, and in the poſſeſſion of Barbarians, who triumphed in the calamities of the Chriſtians.

IN this extremity, ſome officers of gallies, ſeeing their loſs inevitable, and hurried on with deſpair, endeavoured to run a-ground upon the coaſt, in hopes that the ſtorm would throw them upon ſome place nearer land, whence ſome of them might be fortunate enough to ſave themſelves, either by ſwimming, or getting upon ſhattered pieces of their veſſels. Several took this ſad reſolution, and either periſhed miſerably, or elſe were killed by the Arabs, who lined the ſhore, and who murdered theſe poor creatures unmercifully, or without caring to make them ſlaves, as the hiſtorian Ulloa, whoſe father was in this fatal expedition, informs us. This author relates further, that the veſſel of Don Antonio Carriero, a flag officer, having been ſplit to pieces, a young Spaniſh maiden of exquiſite beauty, who was his miſtreſs, and was on board his ſhip, being thrown by the waves upon the ſhore, an Arab, at the ſight of her rich cloaths, and the jewels ſhe had on, ran immediately to ſeize upon her as his prey; and without being the leaſt moved with either the prayers, tears, or even the charms of that young lady, murdered her inhumanely in cold blood.

THE

THE ſea was now covered over with broken veſſels, pieces of timber, and bodies of men and horſes, which were floating up and down. The galley of Janetin Doria, the great admiral's nephew, whom he loved ſo entirely, running deſignedly a-ground, ſtuck faſt in the ſand on the ſea-ſhore. He too would have been killed by the Arabs, had not the emperor, who was a melancholy ſpectator of the wreck, ſent down Don Antonio d'Arragon, with ſome Italian companies, who ſaved him from thoſe Barbarians. Hiſtorians ſay, that the admiral, hearing of the danger he had run, cried out, with tears in his eyes, "My nephew was to be "expoſed to that misfortune, to teach me before I die "to weep at ſea." Twelve gallies belonging to the admiral, four commanded by Virginio Urſini, ſeveral gallies of Naples and Sicily, and three hundred colonels, captains of ſhips, and other officers by ſea and land, and upwards of 8000 men, ſoldiers and mariners, were loſt on this occaſion.

THE mariners of a galley of Malta, called *the Baſtard*, having endeavoured to run her a-ground on a flat ſhore, where they might have ſaved their lives, brother Franciſco d'Azevedo, who commanded her, perceiving their deſign, oppoſed it with the utmoſt intrepidity. And when the ſeamen, grown bolder by the common danger, repreſented to him that the order would be no great ſufferers by the loſs of the hulk of a galley, which had already ſerved for upwards of twenty years, and had been repaired and refitted ſeveral times; the commander, laying hand on his ſword, cried out as follows, "The order have intruſted me "with this galley, and I will kill the firſt man who "ſhall offer to ſink her; ſo that we muſt either pe"riſh here, or ſave her." This heroic reſolution, the courage and intrepidity of the knight, inſpired his crew with the ſame bravery; and himſelf ſetting them a pattern, and ſcattering his money plentifully amongſt them, they all ſet their hands to the pump; ſo that, notwithſtanding the vaſt quantity of water that was got into the hold, he yet ſaved his galley. Another be-

longing to the order, called *la Catarinetta*, commanded by John Barrientos, had alſo like to have been loſt by another unhappy accident: for his helm being broke by a violent ſhock of the waves, the veſſel having no rudder, and being driven by the ſtorm, was going to ſplit upon the rocks; but two bold ſeamen, tying ropes about them, had themſelves let down ſtark naked into the ſea, who faſtened on another rudder, which they had in reſerve; and, without any manner of tools but their bare hands, put the needle through the eye of the helm, and by that means ſaved the galley.

NOR was the land army in leſs danger, the ſoldiers having neither tents, equipage, ammunition, nor even a day's proviſion, and deſtitute of the neceſſary remedies to cure the wounded. The author of the relation, from whom I have taken the above mentioned particulars, ſpeaks to pope Paul III. to whom he ſent it, as follows: "I can aſſure your holineſs that I ſaw five "knights of Malta, and above thirty gentlemen volun-"teers, faint, and loſe all their blood in the dirt, with-"out any body's being able to give them the leaſt aſ-"ſiſtance: by the emperor's orders they killed all the "horſes of the army, and diſtributed them among the "ſoldiers by companies."

THAT prince afterwards raiſed the ſiege, and kept the ſame order and method in his return, as he had obſerved at his landing. The knights of Malta, though moſt of them were wounded, had yet the poſt of honour, and were put in the rear, together with the ſoldiers of the order, and ſuch of the army as were beſt armed. The author of the relation adds, that they were obliged to oppoſe the attacks of the governor of Algiers, who made continual charges upon them, at the head of his cavalry, in order to incommode the march of the army. At laſt the Chriſtians came in the evening to the ſide of a brook called Alcaras, which the great rains had rendered unfoordable, which obliged them to encamp, and ſpend the night there; all which the workmen of the army employed in building a bridge, which they made of the

ſhattered

ſhattered remains of the veſſels that were found upon the ſhore; this being done, the army paſſed over it the next day. After three days march, they arrived near cape Matafus, where the poor remains of the fleet had put in. Here the army re-imbarked, with great joy at quitting the ſhore; but they had ſcarce been three hours under ſail, when a new ſtorm aroſe; the fleet was again diſperſed; ſeveral ſhips were loſt; and among the reſt, one with ſeven hundred Spaniards on board, which was caſt away in the emperor's ſight, without there being the leaſt poſſibility of giving it any ſuccour. In fine, the Chriſtians, after having paſſed through ſo many dangers, and been in a continual fear of being ſwallowed up in the ſea, arrived at the port of Bugia, which had been in the Spaniards hands ever ſince its being taken by Don Pedro de Navarre, general to their catholic majeſties. Muley Haſcen, king of Tunis, came thither with proviſions and refreſhments for the emperor and his army, who received him very handſomely, and aſſured him of his protection; when the weather growing fair, he ſet ſail on the 16th of November for Cartagena, where he arrived the 25th of the ſame month. But before he re-imbarked, he ſent away the bailiff of Germany, and all the knights, with the higheſt teſtimonies of his ſatisfaction, who being in three gallies that were half ſhattered, made ſhift, though with great difficulty, to re-gain the harbour of Malta.

AT the ſame time that the veſſels and gallies of the order were detained in Africa at the ſiege of Algiers, the channel of Malta was often filled with corſairs, who kept the harbour in a manner blocked up, inſulted the coaſts of the iſland, and that of Goza, and carried off all ſuch inhabitants as had the ill fortune to fall into their hands. The grand bailiff, at his return, had no ſooner refitted his gallies, but he put out to ſea again, gave them chace, cleared the channel of thoſe pirates, purſued them as far as the coaſt of Africa, took ſeveral rais or captains, and ſpread the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms, over all thoſe ſeas.

BAD weather obliging him to put into the port of Tripoli, he was informed by an envoy from Muley-Haſcen king of Tunis, who ſent him to the governor of the place, that Barbaroſſa, incenſed that the knights ſhould appear at the head of all the enterpriſes that the Chriſtians engaged in againſt the African Turks, was ſolliciting at the porte for an order to lay ſiege to Tripoli; that Morat Aga, his lieutenant, was making preparations for it at Tachora; for which purpoſe he had raiſed a redoubt in the village of Adabus, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and put an advanced body on it, which kept Tripoli in a manner blocked upon that ſide: He added further, that Haſcen's correſpondence, and union with the emperor and the knights, had rendered him odious to the Turks, and other princes of his religion: that ſeveral of the principal cities of his kingdom, as Suſa, Monaſter, Mahedia or Africa, Esfacos, and Calibia had revolted, ſome of which had received the Turks into them, whilſt others pretended to maintain themſelves in an abſolute independence by their ſingle ſtrength; that a great number of Tuniſian malecontents had, ſince the emperor's defeat, retired to Algiers, under the protection of Barbaroſſa; that there was no doubt but they would ſoon ſee that formidable corſair, at the head of an army, beſieging Tripoli and Tunis; and that Haſcen was going to ſet out immediately to wait upon the emperor, who was in Italy, to ask for thoſe ſuccours, which he hoped to obtain from him, as he owned him for his ſovereign.

WE have already obſerved, that the knights had ſollicited the emperor, either to put Tripoli in a ſtate of defence, or elſe to give them leave to fill up the port, blow up the caſtle, and abandon a city that was ſo chargeable to the order. The grand bailiff, after having reviewed the place again, held a council of war, at which the governor and principal knights of the garriſon were preſent; and, purſuant to their unanimous reſolution, they, with the conſent of the grand maſter and the council, ſend new embaſſadors to Charles V. who were to renew their inſtances, and to repreſent to him, that

that it would be impoſſible to keep a place that was open on all ſides, without ſecuring it with good walls, and fortifying them with out-works; that the country afforded neither ſtone nor lime for thoſe different works; that they could not get any from Malta, without a great expence; not to mention, that the knights found it difficult enough to fortify themſelves there: and that in caſe his imperial majeſty ſhould think it proper for them to continue longer in ſo defenceleſs a place, it then was neceſſary for him, to order his viceroy of Sicily to ſend money, workmen, and materials thither forthwith; that in order to prevent the ſiege they were threatned with, and whilſt they were at work upon the fortifications, ſome companies of the Sicilian troops ſhould be put into the place; and that the gallies of that kingdom, with thoſe of the order, ſhould guard the ſea, in order to hinder the infidels from making deſcents, and oppoſing the works they were forced to make for the ſecurity of the city.

THIS embaſſy had no better ſucceſs than the former. For the emperor, who was afraid leſt the Turks ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Sicily, but who at the ſame time foreſaw, that they would never employ their forces on that ſide, ſo long as the knights ſhould be maſters of Tripoli, was well pleaſed to have thoſe warriors, at the price of their blood and treaſure, employ his enemies forces in Africa: ſo that he ſignified to the embaſſadors of the order, by his miniſters, that he was deſirous that the knights, purſuant to the treaty of the feoffment of Malta, ſhould maintain themſelves in Tripoli; to which he added ſpecious promiſes of a mighty ſuccour, in caſe the place ſhould be beſieged: but he excuſed himſelf from granting the troops and money demanded of him, becauſe of the preſſing occaſion he himſelf had for it, in order to be able to oppoſe the forces of the French and Turks, who both attacked his own dominions, or thoſe of the king of the Romans his brother, at the ſame time, in Flanders, in Italy, and in Hungary.

THE

THE grand bailiff was ſenſibly concerned to ſee the embaſſadors return without the leaſt ſuccour, and with having been fed with nothing but empty promiſes: however, as he was a man of great courage, though every thing was wanting to him, he yet was not wanting in what he owed to himſelf, and his order; ſo that he, before he left Tripoli, reſolved to put it in a condition, in caſe it ſhould be beſieged, of holding out till ſuch time as ſuccours could be brought either from Malta or Sicily. To effect which he employed his crew of galley-ſlaves in ſinking and widening the ditches in ſeveral places. They raiſed the walls higher, and added ſeveral works of earth to the caſtle, in order to keep off all approaches to it; at the ſame time he himſelf, and all the knights of his ſquadron and garriſon, attended upon the workmen, and generouſly employed themſelves in thoſe military labours. But as, after all, fortifications which had been raiſed in ſo much haſte, could at moſt ſerve only to protract the loſs of the city for ſome days, the grand bailiff, knowing that the emperor was infinitely jealous of his glory, and would therefore make extraordinary efforts to ſupport Muley Haſcen in a kingdom which he conſidered as his own conqueſt, wrote to that Mooriſh king, by which he preſſed him to haſten his departure, and go immediately to the emperor's court, flattering himſelf, that the ſuccours, which he ſhould obtain from that prince, would ſerve both for the preſervation of Tripoli, and that the Turks, when they ſhould ſee an army of Charles V. on the coaſt of Africa, would never run the hazard to form the ſiege of Tripoli, ſo long as it ſhould continue there.

MULEY, purſuant to this advice, and his own intereſt, prepared to ſet out for Italy, leaving the government of his kingdom, and his capital, during his abſence, to a Moor called Mahomet Temtes, or the Stammerer; a renegado of the iſle of Corſica, Caid Ferrath by name, was to command in the caſtle: and as the king of Tunis was under continual apprehenſions, becauſe of the reſtleſs temper of prince Muley Hamida, his eldeſt ſon, he, in order to employ him out of the way, ſent

him

him towards Cap-bon, with ſome companies of Arabs, to reduce ſome cheques, or little lords, who refuſed to pay the tributes which had been laid upon them.

MULEY, after having ſettled this order in his dominions, ſet out from thence, paſſed by Goletta, to viſit prince Mahomet his ſon, who was there in hoſtage with ſeveral Moors; and, after conferring with Don Franciſco de Tovar about the occaſion of his voyage, left his jewels and moſt valuable effects in his hands; putting at the ſame time great preſents for the emperor and his miniſters on board his ſhip: after which he embarked; and, whether it were from an oſtentation inſeparable from royalty, or for his own ſecurity and defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by corſairs in his way, he took with him an eſcorte of five hundred men, who were all either officers of war or courtiers, who ſerved him as a guard. Muley met with a good paſſage, and arrived without any obſtacle in Sicily, from whence he went to Naples, where the viceroy received him with great magnificence: From whence he diſpatched expreſſes, to deſire an interview with the emperor: but that prince, whoſe preſence was immediately neceſſary in Germany, on account of ſome diſturbances which the Lutherans had raiſed, ſent orders to the viceroy to confer with the Mooriſh prince on the ſubject of his voyage, and, after that, ſend him an account of it.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK XI.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

WHILST the king of Tunis, and the miniſter of Charles V. were conferring together about the beſt methods that could be employed for the oppoſing Barbaroſſa, and the other corſairs, fortune raiſed an enemy to Muley, whom he had not ſufficiently guarded againſt; an enemy who afterwards ſtripped him of his crown. Prince Hamida, Muley's eldeſt ſon, had a favourite called Mahomet, who by flattery, and a ſervile complaiſance, the uſual arts of courtiers, had gained his entire confidence. This favourite had concealed, in the moſt ſecret receſſes of his heart, a mortal hatred, and a violent deſire

of

of vengeance, againſt the king, who had put his father to death. He now imagined, that that prince's abſence preſented him with a favourable opportunity of gratifying his reſentment. Upon this he raiſed ſuſpicions in Hamida's mind, with regard to the king his father's voyage into a Chriſtian country, telling him, at the ſame time, that he had reaſon to fear leſt Muley ſhould, at his death, leave his crown to prince Mahomet his ſecond ſon; that this was perhaps the motive of the conferences, which he had with the governor of Goletta; that every body knew he had put all his treaſures into his hands, and, that, in all probability, the ſole motive of his viſiting the emperor was in order to gain his approbation of this diſpoſition, and obtain from him, as from the ſovereign lord, an inveſtiture in favour of his brother. Hamida being a young ambitious prince, and burning with the deſire of reigning, took fire at the diſcourſe, and, in concert with his favourite, got it to be whiſpered about in Tunis, that the king his father, being fallen grievouſly ill at Naples, had before his death deſired to be baptized, and had accordingly turned Chriſtian.

IN confidence of theſe reports, of which he himſelf was the ſecret author, and as if he had been certain of his father's death, he came to Tunis, and went to the palace, in order to take poſſeſſion of it. But the viceroy, who was a reſolute and auſtere old man, reproached him with his too great facility in giving credit to ſuch ill news; and after having told him, that he would give Muley an account of his great eagerneſs to ſucceed him, he obliged him to retire from the capital. Hamida, in confuſion at the ill ſucceſs of his artifice, and uneaſy at the conſequences with which it might be attended, retired to a country houſe, ſome miles diſtance from Tunis. No ſooner was he gone out of the place, but the viceroy, getting on board a bark, went to the caſtle of Goletta, in order to know from the governor of it what news he had received from Sicily and Naples; when being informed that the king his maſter

maſter was in perfect health, he returned back with joy to his government.

BUT Hamida's favourite made his advantage of this voyage, and ſpread new reports among the people; as, that Muley's death was but too certain: that the journey which the viceroy had juſt made with ſo much haſte and precipitation to Goletta, was purely upon that account: that it was well known that his brother Adulzes, and young Ferrath, ſon to the governor of the caſtle of Tunis, were brought up with Mahomet, and were with him in hoſtage in the fort of Goletta: that the viceroy had gone thither for no other end, but in order to adjuſt with them and the Chriſtian governor, the ſureſt meaſures for the placing of Mahomet on the throne of Tunis; and that they would infallibly ſee an army of Spaniards, in a very little time, bring back that young prince to Tunis, and proclaim him ſovereign of the kingdom.

THE people, who are always fond of novelty, readily ſwallowed theſe reports; to which, every man adding ſomething of his own, they were thereby improved with a great many fabulous circumſtances. The partiſans of Hamida were particularly careful to publiſh, that young Mahomet his brother, having been brought up among the Chriſtians, had ſecretly embraced the Chriſtian religion, as being the ſureſt pledge he could give the emperor of his fidelity.

THE fear of having a Chriſtian for their ſovereign alarmed the whole city. They meet, cabal together, and in fine, ſend deputies to Hamida, to invite him to come to the ſuccour of a people, who were deſirous of ſetting the crown on his head. They found him walking in his gardens, buried in a profound melancholy, deteſting the falſe ſtep which his favourite had made him take; and in a thorough perſuaſion that the king his father, at his return, would never pardon him the fatal eagerneſs which he had diſcovered to aſcend the throne. But the news of the commotion of the people removed theſe melancholy apprehenſions, and made them give way to joy; upon which he aſſembled

ed his partiſans, marched at their head, and favoured by the people, enters Tunis, ſurpriſes the viceroy and the governor of the caſtle, gets them murdered, maſſacres the moſt zealous ſubjects of Muley, ſeizes on the palace; when the young tyrant begins his authority, by the moſt abominable inceſt, by forcing the deareſt of his father's wives to his embraces.

As ſoon as the king of Tunis heard this diſmal news, being afraid leſt his ſon, in order to ſupport himſelf on the throne, ſhould ſtrengthen himſelf with the protection and ſuccour of Barbaroſſa, he reſolved to return immediately into Africa; when, by the viceroy's preſent, he levied 2000 men, which he got together among the banditti and exiles, putting an old officer of the country called l'Ofredo at their head; after which, he embarked, and arrived at Goletta, where he had the confirmation of the news, together with the various circumſtances of Hamida's revolt. The governor adviſed him not to ſtir out of the place, till ſuch time as he ſhould have an exact account of the forces of his enemy, and the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects: but Muley, poſſeſſed with a notion that his ſon would never dare to ſtand his preſence, and encouraged by l'Ofredo, who was in hopes of enriching himſelf by the ſacking of Tunis, advanced forward. That which finally determined him to take ſo dangerous a ſtep, eſpecially with ſo few forces, was, that ſome traitors, by the ſecret orders of Hamida, came to meet him on the road, as ſo many faithful ſubjects, who were come to fight under the banner of their lawful ſovereign; telling him alſo, at the ſame time, that they had left his ſon in a terrible conſternation at the news of his return, and in great irreſolution what meaſures to take; and that he deſigned to retire to the fartheſt part of the country, and take refuge with ſome Arabs, who were his friends.

MULEY, impoſed upon by the accounts of theſe traitors, haſtened his march. At his drawing near Tunis, he ſaw ſome ſquadrons ſally out, who by their countenances, which diſcovered an air of fear, ſeemed to advance only with a view to reconnoitre his troops.

They made however ſome light skirmiſhes; but whilſt this party of rebels was amuſing Muley, a greater number advanced, who began a general engagement. The troops having cloſed together, and begun a bloody battle, Muley, hurried on by his courage, and ſtill more by his reſentment, bravely attacked thoſe troops which oppoſed him; but as he was fighting at the head of a ſquadron, he received a wound, which his ſoldiers believing to mortal, it immediately cooled their eagerneſs and fire. At the ſame time, a great body of foot, compoſed of Arabs, whom Hamida had taken into his pay, ſallied out of the foreſt of olives, near Tunis. The Chriſtians now ſaw themſelves quickly ſurrounded; ſo that notwithſtanding their courage and reſolution, the infidels, who were ſuperior in number, cut them to pieces. Some of theſe endeavouring to fly over the lake to Goletta, were drowned; and the unfortunate Muley, being abandoned both by the Chriſtians and Moors, was taken priſoner. They carried him immediately to his ſon; but that traitor, who had yet ſome ſenſe of ſhame for his crime left, would not ſee him, but ordered him to be put in irons, and thrown into a dungeon; and the next day he ſent executioners to him, to offer him his choice either of death or blindneſs; when he chuſing the latter, they immediately thruſt a burning lancet into both his eyes.

THIS ſurpriſing revolution in a kingdom that lay ſo near Tripoli, and which was in alliance with the order of St. John, threw the knights into a great conſternation; ſuch eſpecially of them, as ſaw themſelves in Tripoli, at a diſtance from Malta, quite ſurrounded with infidels, and in a city that had no fortifications, and which was commanded from ſeveral places, expected every moment to be beſieged. Ferdinand de Bracamont, who was governor there, deſpairing to be able to defend it, for any time, and under pretence that there was no honour to be got in the defence of ſo weak a place, uſed great inſtances with the grand maſter to be recalled, and at laſt got leave to quit his government, and had for his ſucceſſor, Chriſtopher de Solertarfan,

Solertarſan, the great chancellor, with whoſe conduct they had afterwards as much reaſon to be diſſatisfied.

HOWEVER, as in a poſt of ſuch importance, there was need of a governor of great experience, and equally wiſe and intrepid, the grand maſter and council thought proper to recal him, and put in his room the commander de la Valette, a knight of the language of Provence, who from the time of his profeſſion at Malta, had never ſtirred from thence, unleſs it were to go a cruiſing againſt the infidels. He had, in theſe expeditions, met ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill fortune; but had ever diſcovered the ſame courage and reſolution in both, being ſometimes victorious, and ſometimes beaten; he alſo had been taken by the infidels, but the moment he got out of priſon, had always gone a cruiſing again. His very name carried terror along with it, in the ſeas of Africa and Sicily; and among the great number of knights who went out a cruiſing, the infidels had not an enemy whom they dreaded more than they did him. He was no ſooner arrived at Tripoli, than he made a review of the officers and ſoldiers, as well of the Chriſtians as of the Moors in alliance with the order. All theſe he furniſhed with good weapons, broke all ſuch as appeared to him unfit to bear them, or were convicted of having played them away for want of money; and puniſhed blaſphemers ſeverely. He afterwards ſent away all uſeleſs perſons out of the town and caſtle, erected a magazine of proviſions, added new fortifications to the place, as far as its ill ſituation, and the little money he had, would allow him; when cauſing an exact plan to be made of it, and of all the coaſt of Africa, he diſpatched a knight with it to the emperor, to ſhew him of what importance it was for his Italian, and even for his Spaniſh territories, to keep Tripoli from falling into the hands of the infidels; and particularly into thoſe of Dragut, who was at that time chief of all the corſairs of Barbary, and who had ſucceeded Barbaroſſa in that poſt, and in his deſign of driving the knights from the coaſts of Africa.

DRAGUT, of whom mention is now made, was born in a little village of Natolia, lying over againſt the iſle of Rhodes. His father and mother were Mahometans, both of them poor, who ſubſiſted by tilling of the ground, and the labour of their hands; but this obſcure and painful way of life, not ſuiting the warm and reſtleſs temper of young Dragut, he liſted himſelf when but twelve years of age, under an officer of the artillery, who ſerved on board the grand ſeignior's gallies. He was at firſt a cabin-boy, then a common ſailor, next a pilot, and afterwards, by his patron's inſtructions, an excellent gunner, in which quality he ſerved for ſeveral years, on board of different veſſels; when having gained ſome money, he came to be a partner in a brigantine of corſairs. After this, he ſoon got a galiot to himſelf, and made conſiderable prizes with it; upon which he encreaſed his armament, and made himſelf to be dreaded over all the Levant. There was not one pilot among the infidels who had ſo perfect a knowledge of the iſlands, the ports and roads of the mediterranean, as Dragut: but as all who ſailed in the ſeas of Turky, at that time, depended in ſome meaſure on Barbaroſſa, the grand ſeignor's admiral, Dragut ſought his protection, and went to Algiers to offer him his ſervice.

THE reputation of this corſair had reached there before him; and Barbaroſſa had been well informed of his valour, and particularly of his capacity in the ſteering of veſſels, for which reaſon he was glad to engage a man of ſo much merit in his ſervice. He employed him for ſeveral years on various expeditions, in which he acquitted himſelf to his general's ſatisfaction, and with extraordinary ſucceſs. Barbaroſſa, after having made him paſs through all the degrees of ſervice, made him his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a ſquadron of twelve gallies.

AFTER that time, there never paſſed a ſummer but this terrible corſair ravaged the coaſts of Naples and Sicily. No Chriſtian ſhip durſt venture to go over from Italy to Spain, but it was immediately ſnapped up; and when

when the ſea did not furniſh him with prizes, he made himſelf ample amends by deſcents upon the coaſts, when he plundered towns and villages, and carried off the inhabitants into ſlavery.

THE emperor, tired with the complaints which he received from all quarters concerning Dragut, ordered Andrew Doria his admiral to go in queſt of him, find him out, and, coſt what it would, to ſtop his progreſs, and clear the ſea of him. Doria, upon the receipt of the emperor's orders, immediately fitted out all the veſſels and gallies he could meet with, that were in a condition to bear the ſea; and, as that old general was ſatiated with glory, he, in order to put his nephew Jannetin Doria in a fair way of acquiring his ſhare of it, left the expedition to him. Hereupon young Doria ſet ſail immediately; ſought for Dragut, and was at laſt lucky enough to meet with him along the coaſt of the iſle of Corſica, in the port or road of Giralatta, a caſtle ſeated between Calvi and Layazzo. The corſair, who knew nothing of the emperor's fleet being at ſea, thought himſelf ſafe in that creek; but he ſoon found himſelf ſhut up in it, and the cannon both of the caſtle, and of the artillery of the veſſels, continually annoying him: He at firſt defended himſelf with his uſual courage; but the ſuperior fire of the Chriſtians overpowered his; and he ſaw likewiſe at the ſame time all the coaſts of the iſland lined with the inhabitants in arms, a fierce people, who ran to contribute to his defeat, in order to be revenged on the corſair, who had ſo often ravaged their villages.

IN this extremity, Dragut had no other reſource than to put up the white flag, when he deſired to enter into a negotiation, and demanded terms, in quality of a priſoner of war. But all the compoſition he could get was to redeem his life at the price of his liberty; ſo that he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to the Chriſtian general, together with all the gallies he had under his command: upon which they brought him, together with his officers, on board the admiral galley to young Doria, who as yet not having a beard, the old corſair,

30810

tranſported with rage, cried out, "Muſt I, at my age, "ſee myſelf become a ſlave to a little ſmock-faced boy?" The hiſtorians of that age relate, that he made uſe of a term that was much more offenſive, and which modeſty forbids me to repeat; and that Jannetin, provoked with ſo outrageous an affront, ſtruck him more than once on the face, and ordered him to be chained.

DRAGUT remained a ſlave for four years together; and though they offered any terms for his ranſom, they yet could never prevail to have his liberty reſtored. But the Genoeſe being afterwards alarmed to ſee the famous Barbaroſſa with an hundred gallies in the river of Genoa, demanded Dragut from Doria; when to prevent their territory from being ravaged, they ſent him back, with preſents to the ſultan's admiral.

BARBAROSSA reſtored him immediately to his former poſt, and gave him, as uſual, a detachment of his gallies. The ill treatment he had received whilſt he was a ſlave, had encreaſed his natural hatred to the Chriſtians; whereupon he over-ran all the coaſts of the kingdom of Naples, took and ſacked Caſtel-Lamara, and moſt of the villages of the coaſt; made a great number of ſlaves, and a few days afterwards took a galley of the order, that had been ſeparated from the ſquadron in a ſtorm, on board of which he found ſeventy thouſand crowns, that were deſigned for the fortifications of Tripoli; an irreparable loſs with reſpect to that place, as well as to thoſe to whom it belonged. Barbaroſſa was now returned to Conſtantinople; where, notwithſtanding his being upwards of eighty years of age, he nevertheleſs paſſed his days and nights with the faireſt of his ſlaves; but happening to carry his debauch too far, he was found dead in his bed.

SOLYMAN was ſenſibly concerned at this loſs; and, to have his place filled up, ordered all the corſairs of his dominions to ſubmit to Dragut, in quality of their general; but at the ſame time without honouring him with the dignity of admiral, notwithſtanding which,

he

he entruſted him with all the authority he had in the Southren parts, and on the coaſt of Africa.

THE ambition of Dragut grew up with his power, ſo that he reſolved, in imitation of Barbaroſſa, to ſeize on ſome ſtrong place and good port, into which, he, by virtue of Solyman's conſent and protection, might bring in his prizes, and make it a kind of petty ſtate and principality for himſelf. Big with theſe important views, and even before the orders of the port had determined in what manner the campaign ſhould be carried on, he got together, during winter, all the corſairs that were in thoſe ſeas, and, putting himſelf at their head, drove the Spaniards immediately out of the towns of Suſa, Moneſter, and Fagues, all of them places that had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Tunis; but which being open, and without any fortifications, received indifferently into their ports the ſtrongeſt ſide, whichſoever it might be, that happened to be maſter of the ſea: ſo that they had paſſed ſeveral times ſucceſſively from the dominion of the Moors, and natural princes of the country, to that of the Turkiſh corſairs, and afterwards fell under the dominion of the Spaniards.

DRAGUT made himſelf maſter of them with the ſame facility; but as he foreſaw that it would be impoſſible for him to maintain himſelf in them againſt all the united forces of the emperor, and that as ſoon as ſpring ſhould be come, he ſhould infallibly be beſieged by the galleys of Naples and Sicily, he caſt his eyes on the town of Africa, otherways called Mehedia, and known in the time of the Romans by the name of Adrumetum. This city, which lies between Tunis and Tripoli, was built upon a narrow ſlip of land jutting out into the ſea; they called it little Africa, as being one of the moſt conſiderable places in that third part of our continent: It was regularly fortified; its walls were very high; and it was ſtrengthened moreover with ramparts on the inſide, of an extraordinary thickneſs, provided with towers and bulwarks; and there was a large train of artillery in it, all in good order. There was alſo above the

town,

town, and on an eminence that commanded it, a fort, or kind of caſtle, which ſerved for a citadel. The harbour was large, ſafe, and ſheltered from all winds: There was alſo another that was ſmaller, and particular for the gallies, which they ſhut up with iron rails. The waves of the ſea waſhed the walls of the place, and encompaſſed it on all ſides, except only in one part where it joined to the main land.

THE inhabitants, who were all Moors and Mahometans, had, after their revolting from the dominion of the kings of Tunis, their natural princes, formed a commonwealth among themſelves; and for fear of being ſurpriſed, or of any attempt that ſhould be made upon their liberty, would not admit either Turks or Chriſtians into their city; and whenever, from a neceſſity of trading, they allowed of any foreign veſſels coming into their harbour, they never ſuffered but a few to come in at a time, and that too with ſuch precautions as ſecured them from being ſurpriſed.

THIS place, ſuch as we have repreſented it, became the object of Dragut's ambitious wiſhes: But as he had not forces ſufficient to attack it by open force, and that he was not certain, whether the grand ſeignior might approve of his employing his arms in that enterpriſe, he reſolved to ſupply with artifice what he wanted in ſtrength, and endeavour to take it by ſome intelligence which he might gain within the place; being perſuaded that princes very ſeldom diſavow even the moſt unjuſt enterpriſes, when the ſucceeding in them turns to their advantage: For which end, and in order the better to reconnoitre the place, he ſometimes put into the port, with a light brigantine, or galliot only, and obliged his ſoldiers to obſerve a certain complaiſance and decorum that is rarely found among corſairs; after which, he inſenſibly contracted an acquaintance with one of the principal magiſtrates, Ibrahim-Barat by name, who commanded one of the principal towers that flanked the walls of the town. Dragut cultivated this new friendſhip with preſents, conſiſting of the moſt curious and valuable things he could meet with in his

prizes;

prizes; which indeed is the only method to gain the confidence of ſuch Barbarians, and even too frequently that of Chriſtians. He next began to inſinuate to him, that he would freely admit him as a partner in all thoſe prizes which he daily made, making him ſenſible of the immenſe profit that would accrue to him from ſuch a partnerſhip: But at the ſame time he obſerved to him, that in order to make this union ſtronger, and their partnerſhip more durable, it were to be wiſhed, that he could be admitted into the city in quality of a citizen. The Moor, tempted by the hopes of gain, undertook to make the propoſal to the council; but as it was a corſair who made the propoſal, it was rejected by all the magiſtrates, and Ibrahim was ſeverely reprimanded for having been the firſt who had ever offered ſuch a propoſal. The Moor, full of trouble and vexation to ſee himſelf refuſed, went to greater lengths than perhaps he at firſt thought to go: Dragut, thinking him capable of attempting any thing to be revenged, and in order to make his advantage of the heat of his reſentment, made a propoſal to him that he ſhould receive him into the tower of the city which he commanded; and, offering him conſiderable ſums, he brought him to accept of it. The covetous Moor, unable to reſiſt the temptation, entered entirely into Dragut's meaſures; after which, their bargain was ſoon concluded, when they agreed that the corſair ſhould go away immediately; that, in order to wipe of the remembrance of his deſigns, and diſperſe the jealouſy which the magiſtrates might entertain on that account, he ſhould diſappear for ſome time; that he ſhould afterwards take all the troops which he had in Suſa and Moneſter, and make them draw off as openly as poſſible towards Africa; and that he himſelf ſhould come in the night to the foot of the tower, at an hour aſſigned him by the prior, who by the poſt he commanded would facilitate his entry into the city. This traitorous plot was put in execution before the inhabitants had the leaſt notion of it; for Dragut was let into the tower in the dark, from whence he entered into, and ſeized the principal

cipal poſts of the city, when the day ſhewed the citizens their misfortune. They all however ran to arms, and encountered the enemy; but as every thing was full of trouble and confuſion, they fought with more impetuoſity than conduct. The corſairs cut part of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to throw down their arms, and ſubmit to acknowledge a man for their maſter and ſovereign, whom they had refuſed to admit in quality of a citizen. He afterwards brought freſh troops into the place, which inſpired a dread of his authority, and was of uſe in ſupporting it; when having eſtabliſhed his new dominion on ſuch ſolid foundations, he put the government of the city into the hands of a young corſair his nephew, rais or captain Eſſé by name.

HE afterwards, purſuant to the orders of the porte, ſet ſail from Africa, in order to continue his cruiſings againſt the Chriſtians; but, before he embarked, left orders with his nephew, to make away with the Moor, who had let him into the place, during his abſence; for fear leſt a repentance for having betrayed his country, or the hope of a larger recompence, might engage him in a new treachery. The governor did not fail to execute his orders immediately after his departure, and Ibrahim received the reward which his treachery ſo juſtly merited.

THE news of the taking of Africa alarmed all the coaſts of Sicily, and gave the emperor great uneaſineſs. This prince ſaw plainly that the corſair was going to make it the ſeat of his arms; that its port would ſerve him for the future as a retreat for his veſſels, and that from thence he might eaſily infeſt all thoſe ſeas, and make a terrible havock over all the coaſts of Naples and Sicily; to prevent which, he reſolved to beſiege that city, before his dominion ſhould be better ſettled in it. But before he engaged in ſo difficult an enterpriſe, his council was of opinion, that it would be proper to recover Suſa, Moneſter, and the other places in the neighbourhood, from whence the corſairs might draw ſuccours.

DORIA,

DORIA, purſuant to his orders, put to ſea, with the fleet under his command, being reinforced with the pope's gallies; and the grand maſter, at the emperor's requeſt, ſent thoſe of Malta upon this expedition, under the command of the bailiff de la Sangle. There were in this ſquadron an hundred and forty knights, and a battalion of four hundred men of the troops in the ſervice of the order. When all theſe forces were joined, the Chriſtian fleet ſet ſail, ſtood away for the coaſt of Africa, and, upon advice, which Doria received, that Dragut was in the port of Moneſter, he went thither to meet him; but the corſair was too cunning, as well as too diffident, to ſhut himſelf up in ſo weak a place, and therefore ſailed out, and put to ſea; when having certain notice that Doria had not troops enough on board his fleet to form the ſiege of Africa, he, either in order to avoid coming up with him, or elſe to make a diverſion, till ſuch time as he might be ſatisfied of his deſigns, over-ran the coaſt of Spain, where he continued his uſual ravages.

DORIA, on his ſide, purſuant to the emperor's orders, landed his ſmall body of troops at Cap-bon, and ſeized on the fort of Calibia, the old Clupea of the Romans, from whence he advanced up to the gates of Moneſter: At the approach of the Chriſtian troops, which did not appear to be very numerous, the Turks, together with the inhabitants that had taken arms in their favour, made a ſally, not ſo much with any deſign of fighting, as to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy. But the knights, who had the van, and were ſuſtained by a Spaniſh regiment, ſparing them the trouble of coming up to them, advanced at a great pace, came up with them, forced the Moors againſt their wills to come to an engagement, killed a great number of them, put the reſt to flight, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that they got to the city along with them, and by that means made themſelves maſters of it; part of the inhabitants, who had not been concerned in the ſally, together with ſuch Turks as had eſcaped the firſt fury of the victorious, took refuge with the governor in the caſtle. Doria ſummoned

moned the commander to ſurrender, and upon his refuſal, planted his batteries, and the artillery played upon the fort. The Chriſtian admiral fancied himſelf diſhonoured by attacking ſuch an inconſiderable place according to the ordinary rules made uſe of on ſuch occaſions; and therefore, as ſoon as a breach was made, he, without examining whether it was large enough, ordered them to prepare for the aſſault. The inhabitants would willingly have capitulated; but the governor, an old corſair, who had a good number of his brother pirates with him, ſtoutly rejected the propoſal. His boldneſs, and Doria's precipitation, cauſed both the attack and the defence to be equally warm and bloody; the order loſt a great part of its knights in it, and the battle had laſted for above an hour and an half before a judgment could be made of its ſucceſs; but the governor having been killed upon the breach with a musket-ball, that blow, as if all the ſoldiers of the garriſon had been knocked down with it, quite damped their courage, and they offered to capitulate. The corſairs, to ſave their lives, conſented to loſe their liberty; and the inhabitants, who, out of zeal for their religion, had taken arms in their favour, did not meet with better treatment.

THE emperor taking this firſt advantage for a good omen, ordered Doria to diſpoſe every thing for the ſiege of Africa, and ſignified to him that the viceroys of Naples and Sicily had orders to furniſh him all the ſuccours of troops and ammunition he might have occaſion for. Upon this, the admiral wrote immediately to Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and to Don Juan de Vega, who commanded in Sicily, to ſend him, with all imaginable expedition, what gallies and ſhips they had, with a quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and a body of land forces on board. During his waiting for their coming up, to prevent any troops from entering into Africa, he poſted himſelf at the iſlands called Cumilieres or Coniglieres, which lie nearer that place than Moneſter, though the latter was but at three miles diſtance. The viceroy of Naples ſent him word that he was getting ready a ſtrong reinforce-

ment,

ment, which ſhould be commanded by Don Garcia his ſon; the viceroy of Sicily gave him the like aſſurances; and added, that as the people of his government, by their ſituation nearer Africa, were more ſtrongly bound in point of intereſt, to drive the corſairs out of that place, he therefore deſigned to head his troops in perſon; but as the ſuccours he was preparing were not yet got ready, and that Dragut was ſcouring the ſeas with ſeveral ſquadrons, in order to ſurpriſe the Chriſtian veſſels, and ruin the enterpriſe, the viceroy, for his ſecurity, inſiſted that the admiral ſhould fix the general rendezvous of all the Chriſtian fleet at Trepano in Sicily: to which he added, that he was reſolved to go thither himſelf, with all his ſhips and gallies, and, when their ſquadron ſhould be joined, and all the emperor's ſea forces united in one body, they then might go in concert, without the leaſt interruption, to form the ſiege of Africa.

THE admiral, who, from the Cumilieres iſlands, kept the port of that place in a manner blocked up, foreſaw very well, that if he ſhould quit his poſt, Dragut would not fail to make uſe of the opportunity, and throw in ſuccours; but as he had received private orders, to do nothing in the carrying on the ſiege without the advice of Don Juan de Vega, who was an old officer, and an excellent general, Doria was forced to go to him to Palermo, from whence they went together to Trepano, at which place the gallies and troops of Naples and Malta were already arrived.

THE Neapolitan ſuccours conſiſted of twenty-four gallies, and ſeveral veſſels with land forces on board. Don Garcia de Toledo, as has been already obſerved, commanded this ſtrong ſquadron; and as Doria ſeldom quitted the ſea, that young lord flattered himſelf with the hopes of carrying on the ſiege himſelf, and of having all the honour that would accrue from thence; but hearing that the viceroy of Sicily had declared his reſolution of going thither in perſon, he was ſo vexed to ſee himſelf balked of the glory he had hoped to gain

by that means, that he re-imbarked as if he intended to go away, and ſeparate from the reſt of the army; but in order to cover his diſcontent with ſome ſpecious pretence, he told Doria, that as the viceroy his father had received orders from the emperor to put all his gallies to ſea, in order to go in ſearch of Dragut, and fight him, he could not diſpenſe with his inſtructions.

DORIA ſaw with grief, that this diviſion between the chiefs, ariſing from a jealouſy for the command, would make the enterpriſe miſcarry; and that Don Garcia, though a young officer, yet being independent on the viceroy of Sicily, was for making his advantage of the great occaſion they had for the body under his command. He did all that lay in his power to keep him with them, and prevent his going off; and they made a kind of negotiation of that affair; the bailiff de la Sangle, commander of the gallies of Malta, had the management of it by Doria's order: that judicious knight carried meſſages between both parties; but Don Garcia, what propoſals ſoever they might make him, would not abate a title of his pretenſions: he maintained, that as he commanded a fleet and body of troops in chief, nothing could oblige him to ſerve as a ſubaltern, without expreſs orders from the emperor to that purpoſe: that indeed he was ſenſible of the reſpect that would be due to the emperor's flag, and to his great admiral, ſo long as he ſhould be out at ſea; but that when they ſhould be a-ſhore, and eſpecially in a foreign country, he would never ſubmit to receive orders from a general, who had no right to claim any authority over the Neapolitan troops. This diſpute was very warm, and laſted ſeveral days; when at laſt the bailiff de la Sangle, who was of a reconciling temper, brought them to agree to the following reſolutions, viz. that they ſhould both have an equal authority a-ſhore; that each ſhould command the troops which he had brought with him to the ſiege; that the council of war ſhould regulate and determine the attacks, by the plurality of voices; and that orders ſhould be given

given in the emperor's name, in the ſame manner as if he commanded in perſon at the ſiege. Theſe diſputes being happily over, the whole fleet ſet ſail, ſtood away for Africa, when they landed the troops on the eaſt ſide of the place, on the twenty-ſixth of June. 1550.

DRAGUT, during Doria's voyage into Sicily and Trepano, had not failed, as that experienced admiral had foreſeen, to throw a ſtrong reinforcement into the place; he had put ſome of his beſt officers into it, with ſupplies of proviſions and ammunition; and at the ſame time put out to ſea, in order to intercept the convoys that ſhould be ſent to the Chriſtian army. The governor of Goletta, who was an officer of great reputation and diſtinguiſhed valour, came, by the emperor's expreſs orders, to the ſiege; and the grand maſter of Malta, knowing the loſs which the order had ſuſtained at the aſſault of the caſtle of Monaſter, ſent a new recruit of knights to ſupply the place of ſuch as had been killed.

AFTER the generals had landed their troops, their ammunition and artillery, they opened the trenches, they raiſed batteries, and the artillery began to fire upon the place. When the magiſtrates, and principal inhabitants, who were all rich merchants, ſaw a formidable army before their walls, they deteſted the piracies of Dragut, which had drawn that war upon them, and they began to talk openly of treating with the Chriſtians; but Rais Eſſe, who was Dragut's nephew, and governor of the place, being a reſolute ſoldier, threatned, that if they mentioned ſo much as a ſingle word about capitulating, he would ſtab them all one after another, and afterwards ſet fire to the city; and, upbraiding them with their cowardice, he asked them in a ſofter tone, whether, in caſe of their ſurrendering themſelves to the Chriſtians, they could be ſo ſilly as to believe that their mortal enemies, when once become their maſters, would leave them in the exerciſe of their religion, and the enjoyment of their eſtates; adding, that they ought to conſider, that in this war

every thing that was dear to man lay at ſtake; they having their lives, their liberties, their religion, their wives, and their children to defend. At the ſame time he, in order to encourage them, repreſented to them the ſtrength of the place, the numerous artillery, the arms and ammunition that were in it; telling them further, that he had 1700 foot and 600 horſe under his command, all which his uncle had choſen from amongſt his beſt troops, who, like himſelf, had taken a reſolution to bury themſelves in the ruins of the place, rather than ſurrender it to the Chriſtians. The magiſtrates, intimidated rather by his menaces, than encouraged by his promiſes, prepared, though againſt their wills, to ſuſtain a ſiege, which it was not in their power to prevent: But the populace, who were furious with zeal, and ſo much the more jealous of their religion, as they knew but very little of it, made no other anſwer to the governor's diſcourſe than by venting imprecations againſt the Chriſtians. They all ſtrove to out-vie each other in their exhortations to die for the ſake of their religion; and prejudice and obſtinacy ſupplied the place of reſolution and courage.

THE governor, in order to confirm them in theſe ſentiments, and to give them a proof that he was not afraid of the Chriſtians, ordered his cavalry to ſally out with three hundred arquebuſiers, who advanced to a riſing ground near adjoining, whence they fired upon the emperor's camp, with their muskets and ſome field pieces. Don Garcia, whoſe quarter lay near to it, marched immediately with part of his troops, in order to diſlodge them from that poſt: the skirmiſh was warm and obſtinate, as indeed generally happens in the firſt combats, by the ſucceſs of which, men often judge before-hand of the fate of the whole enterpriſe. The governor, in order to ſuſtain his men, ſent out ſix hundred Moors, armed with muskets, to their ſuccour, who made a furious diſcharge, which made a terrible havock among the Neapolitans. Although the viceroy of Sicily might not perhaps be ſorry to ſee Don Garcia beaten and repulſed, yet the emperor's ſervice, and

the

the intereſt of the common cauſe, made him urge the knights to advance to the ſuccour of the Neapolitans; upon which the bailiff de la Sangle, who commanded the battalion of Malta, marched out immediately, came up with the Moors, charged them ſword in hand; when thoſe infidels, who were very unfit to ſtand their ground in battle, broke away in a moment. The infantry got back to the gates of the town, which were ſhut after them; and the cavalry, diſperſing themſelves in the plain, as faſt as their horſes could gallop, threw themſelves into a foreſt of olives, where they immediately diſappeared.

THE cannon had begun with battering the fauſſebraye, and the pannel of the wall which ran croſs the ſlip of land before mentioned; when the breach appearing to be practicable, they ſent officers to reconnoitre it. Theſe, at their return, declared, that behind the breach they had diſcovered deep intrenchments, which were well flanked, the bottom of which was ſtuck full of iron ſpikes; for which reaſon they would infallibly loſe all the troops they ſhould ſend upon the attack: But the viceroy of Sicily, ſuſpecting that fear might have a conſiderable ſhare in this report, or at leaſt that it was greatly exaggerated, prevailed upon them to come to a reſolution of making an aſſault on the Friday following; during which interval they redoubled the battery, in order to widen the breach. On Friday, two hours before day-break, the viceroy, who was for having all the honour of the enterpriſe to himſelf, notwithſtanding the undiſputed right which the knights had of being at the head of all attacks, advanced with his own troops to the foot of the wall.

THE Sicilians found the breach of the fauſſebraye lined with enemies, who made a terrible fire, and killed a great number of the Chriſtians. But the aſſailants, without the leaſt fear, and perhaps without knowing all the danger, got to the top of the breach, when the braveſt of them threw themſelves deſperately into the ditch, which was between the fauſſebraye and

the fort: but they were all killed upon the ſpot, except one man only, whom the infidels ſpared, and took priſoner, purpoſely to get ſome light into the deſigns of the Chriſtians. Other troops advanced to ſuſtain this firſt body, but without meeting any better ſucceſs: for they met every where with deep cuts and intrenchments lying one above another, from whence they were galled continually with cannon and musket-ball, that flew as thick as hail. The fire of the beſieged demoliſhed every thing that dared ſo much as to appear. This aſſault coſt the generals the braveſt of their ſoldiers, who, in order to prevent their loſing any more, ordered a retreat to be ſounded. The officers, as well as ſoldiers, diſheartened at ſo dangerous an attack, threw themſelves with precipitation into their trenches. This ill ſucceſs ſtruck a great damp on the ardor of the beſiegers. If the diſcontented and dejected ſoldiery did not dare to ſpeak of raiſing the ſiege, they nevertheleſs ſaw plain enough, that it would ſpin out to a great length. What made the calamity ſtill greater was, their proviſions began to fail; and contagious diſtempers, contracted from fatigue and unwholeſome food, attacked both officers and common ſoldiers.

THE bailiff de la Sangle, who reckoned hoſpitality to be his chief duty, erected a kind of hoſpital and infirmary in his tents, where he took great care to have the ſick ſoldiers well looked after. The knights, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, attended on them in their turns; ſo that now all the army admired their charity as much as they had done their courage. Dragut, who was ever attentive to the defence of a place that was of ſuch importance to him, endeavoured to throw ſuccours into it; whereupon he landed eight hundred of his men; and getting together three thouſand Moors, all of them good arquebuſiers, whom he had levied with his money, he lay ſnug with them in the foreſt of olives near Africa, to which place the Chriſtians uſed to come for their faſcines. His deſign was to have attacked the lines

on

on St. James's day, who being the patron of Spain, he, for that reaſon, hoped to find the ſoldiers either drunk or in diſorder, and abſent from their colours; and, in order to facilitate the getting in of the ſuccours, he had given the governor notice to make a ſally at the ſame time with all his garriſon: but chance was the occaſion of his ambuſcade's being diſcovered, and brought on an engagement ſooner than he intended; for the viceroy of Sicily, going into the foreſt with the bailiff de la Sangle, the governor of Goletta, and a great eſcort of knights, to order the cutting of faſcines, Dragut, who lay concealed there, ſuffering them to come near him, roſe up ſuddenly with his men, gave them a terrible fire, and fell in immediately upon the knights with their drawn ſabres. The bailiff, notwithſtanding his being ſurpriſed by the enemy, ſoon put his men in order, they being all old warriors, who knew very well how to fall into it of themſelves, ſo that the battalion formed itſelf without any manner of difficulty; after which, there followed no ſmall skirmiſh, but rather an obſtinate engagement; and they fought for a long time together with various ſucceſs. The Turks and Moors, by their frequent firing, killed a great number of Chriſtians, among which the loſs of Lewis Peres de Vargas governor of Goletta, and ſeveral of the braveſt knights, were particularly regreted. The viceroy met with ſome difficulty in drawing his troops out of the foreſt, and recovering the plain: Dragut purſued him for ſome time, and made ſeveral charges; but finding ſtill the ſame men, and a body of warriors, which, tho' ſmall in number, did yet diſcover the moſt intrepid air, making head againſt him, he drew off his troops; and the Moors, knowing the country, threw themſelves into the foreſt again, diſperſed as uſual, and did not rally, till ſuch time as they came near Fagues, which was their rendezvous.

AT the viceroy's return, the generals held a council of war, when by their orders and directions all the batteries continued firing with the ſame fury; beſides which, they alſo raiſed ſome new ones: but the walls

were

were so thick, and so well strengthened with ramparts, that the cannon did no more than graze upon them as it were; and the breaches seemed so small, and were covered with intrenchments that were so well fortified, that they durst not hazard a second assault. They even began to fear that they should be obliged to raise the siege; but Don Garcia, who was full of fire, always in action, whose thoughts were entirely bent on the success of the enterprise, formed a design which gained him the principal honour of it. He had learned from some deserters, that a part of the wall, which the sea washed, was weaker than the rest, and even neglected by the besieged, who did not think that great vessels could come near it, by reason of the banks of sand which the waves had drove on that side. Don Garcia, after having communicated his project to the admiral, and to the council, took the hulks of two old gallies that drew but little water, bound them fast one to another, and raised a battery upon them with parapets and port-holes. This machine was in a dark night towed by some skiffs and great boats, and brought over against the place where he intended to make a breach; and he made the two gallies fast with four anchors, two of which were towards the land and the wall, and the other two towards the main sea.

They began at day-break to batter the pannel of the wall, that lay opposite to this platform; and the cannon fired with so much fury, that a great part of the wall was beat down in a little time: a reasonable breach, in the opinion of the engineers, was soon made; so that the generals resolved to try an assault. The knights of Malta, pursuant to custom, and the privilege of that illustrious body, had the post of honour assigned them, advanced first to the storm. The bailiff de la Sangle regulated their march, and the order of the attack: he ordered that the commander de Gion, supported by two files of the oldest knights, should carry the standard of the order at their head. The chevalier de Guimeran, and, in case he should be killed, the chevalier Copier was to sustain this first body with

with all the young knights, and ſeveral volunteers of different nations, who had deſired to fight under the banner of St. John. They put in their rear four companies of the Malteſe ſoldiers, each of them commanded by officers of the order; and the bailiff, with ſome old knights which he kept about him, was to cloſe the march, in order to go afterwards to ſuch places as ſhould have the moſt need of his preſence and aſſiſtance.

THE viceroy of Sicily with his own troops, and Don Garcia with thoſe of Naples, in order to make a diverſion, undertook reſpectively to make other attacks; and theſe two generals, from an emulation of glory, and to have each of them the honour of firſt planting his ſtandard on the top of the breach, promiſed their ſoldiers extraordinary rewards. The knights, who had no need of ſuch ſelf-intereſted motives, the moment a cannon-ſhot had given the ſignal for an attack, got into skiffs, and light ſhallops, which drew but little water; notwithſtanding which, moſt of theſe brave knights, ſeeing themſelves ſtopped every moment by banks of ſand, leaped into the ſea with their ſwords drawn, and, marching up to the middle, and often up to the ſhoulders, in water, they at laſt got to the foot of the wall. The infidels appeared upon the higheſt part of the breach, and, in order to keep the Chriſtians from approaching it, plied them at the ſame time with their great and ſmall ſhot, with arrows, ſtones, fire-pots, and boiling oil, making a weapon of every thing that lay next to their hands. However the knights, not daunted at the number of their dead, ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, and forced their way to the top of the breach, by the ſide of a tower that joined to the corner of the wall. The commander de Giou immediately ſet up the ſtandard of the order; but he was the ſame moment ſtruck backwards by a muſket-ball: the ſtandard was taken up by the commander Copier, who held it aloft during the whole battle, in the midſt of all the fire, and the ſhowers of croſs-bow-ſhot. In the mean time the cannon which played upon them from the

the adjoining tower, and the fire of the musketeers from the intrenchment, made dreadful havock among the knights, who were unable either to advance forward themſelves, or force the infidels to retire back. A great number of knights, and noble volunteers, who fought under their banner, and moſt of the Malteſe ſoldiers, loſt their lives on this occaſion. The commander de Guimeran, who was at the head of the attack, was infinitely concerned to ſee his brother knights killed by his ſide, yet could not reſolve with himſelf to abandon his poſt. When, happily for him, as he was turning his eyes on all ſides, he diſcovered on the left hand, thro' the ruins, a little path that led to the body of the place; others pretend that was the ruins of a gallery of communication: be that as it will, the commander, at the head of his companions, makes an effort, repulſes every thing that he meets with in his way, opens himſelf a paſſage, ruſhes into the gallery, which was all gone to ruin, except the beams and ſome joyſts, and, marching over them with as much reſolution as he would have done over a ſtone bridge, he makes his way into the city.

AT this noiſe the inhabitants ran up and down, and, alarmed by the cries of their wives and children, barricade themſelves in the ſtreets, get into the houſes, from whence they make a terrible fire. Here the knights found themſelves ſtopped again, and obliged in a manner to make as many ſieges as there were intrenchments in every quarter. But whilſt they were thus fighting, the Turks and Moors, who were oppoſing the Neapolitans and Sicilians, hearing that the Malteſe were got within the place, abandoned the defence of it, to run to the ſuccour of their houſes and families. Upon which the Chriſtians immediately ſpread themſelves over the city, and made them ſenſible, that every man's maintaining himſelf in his reſpective poſt would have been the only way for them to have preſerved their particular fortunes. The poor inhabitants, after having made a pretty weak reſiſtance in ſome quarters, ſeeing the enemy maſter of the place, fly for their lives. Some

make

make the beſt of their way to the plain and the foreſt; others get into boats. Some out of deſpair threw themſelves headlong into the ſea, and Dragut's ſoldiers; who were more afraid of his reproaches than of death itſelf, went to ſeek it on the point of the Chriſtians ſwords, not one of them would call for quarter, ſo that they all made themſelves be killed to a man. They met with a conſiderable booty in this place; for beſides 7000 ſlaves, of every age and ſex, the ſoldiers found the city filled with magazines of very rich merchandize, and plenty of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones in the houſes of the principal inhabitants.

BUT the richeſt booty was the place itſelf, which, at that time, was the ſtrongeſt on the coaſt of Africa. The viceroy of Sicily, who had no longer occaſion for the ſuccours of the Neapolitans, openly claimed all the honour of taking it; put his ſon in it as governor, leaving, at the ſame time, a garriſon conſiſting of ſix companies of foot. After which the breaches were carefully repaired, the ditches cleaned; and having purified and conſecrated the principal moſque, they interred in it all the knights and principal officers who had been killed in the ſiege. The emperor having been afterwards obliged to abandon this place, their aſhes were tranſported to Sicily in two diſtinct cheſts, which were depoſited in the cathedral church of Montreal; and, by the viceroy's order, they erected a ſtately monument to their memory, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

Death has been able to put an end to the lives of thoſe whoſe aſhes reſt under this marble; but the remembrance of their great valour ſhall never die. The faith of theſe heroes has given them a place in heaven, and their courage has filled the earth with their glory; ſo that the blood which flowed from their wounds has, inſtead of a tranſitory life, procured them two lives that are immortal.

DRAGUT,

DRAGUT, enraged at the loſs of the town of Africa, of his treaſures and his ſlaves which were lodged there, aſcribed it chiefly to the knights of Malta; and accordingly made his complaints of it to the grand ſeignior: his agent at the porte repreſented both to that prince, and to the divan, that the emperor, by this conqueſt, had one of the principal keys of Africa in his power; that he was maſter of the fortreſs of Goletta, and of moſt of the places that depended on the kingdom of Tunis; that the knights of Malta, who were devoted to that prince, had fortified themſelves in Tripoli; that there was reaſon to apprehend leſt the Arabs, being great enemies to the Turks, ſhould facilitate their paſſage over the deſerts into Egypt; and that the knights, under pretence of delivering Jeruſalem and Paleſtine from the dominion of the Ottomans, might penetrate into thoſe countries, revive the antient ſpirit of the cruſades, and bring into their party the forces of the Chriſtian princes, who were formidable when united together.

SOME noble preſents, the ſureſt interpreter to obtain a hearing at the porte, which Dragut got to be diſtributed among the principal baſhas, engaged them to repreſent to the grand ſeignior, that his highneſs was more concerned in the loſs of Africa than Dragut; that the enterpriſe was a breach of the treaty made with the Chriſtians, which continued ſtill in force; that he could not avoid diſcovering his reſentment upon that account; and that it was particularly neceſſary they ſhould drive the knights, thoſe declared and eternal enemies of the alcoran, out of all Africa, as he had done already out of Aſia.

SOLYMAN, in that height of power to which his birth and conqueſts had raiſed him, was capable, with no great difficulty, of being blown up to indignation and reſentment; nevertheleſs, as this monarch contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of his predeceſſors, valued himſelf mightily upon his religious obſervance of his treaties, he, before he began the war, ſent, out of a ſort of formality, a chaoux to the emperor, to demand in his name the reſtitu-

reſtitution of Suſa, Moneſter and Africa. Charles V. anſwered the envoy, that thoſe places were dependences of the kingdom of Tunis, which held of the crown of Caſtile; and that, independent from his rights of high ſovereignty, his generals had done only in that point what all ſovereigns of all religions ought to do, with regard to a corſair, who was odious both to God and man; and that, as for himſelf, he was reſolved, without thinking it any breach of the truce which he had made with his highneſs, to purſue that pirate into all places into which he ſhould retire.

SOLYMAN, who was too powerful to be equitable, and who weighed his reaſons only by the ſtrength of his forces, was provoked at ſo reſolute an anſwer; and therefore reſolved to have ſatisfaction for it by ſome illuſtrious enterpriſe. Dragut had orders ſent him, to get together, in a body, all ſuch corſairs as carried the Turkiſh flag, and to keep them in a readineſs to join the Ottoman fleet, which the ſultan was for employing in this war: and in order to take away from Charles V. all pretence of treating Dragut as a corſair, he ſent to him, as to one of his officers, a commiſſion, conſtituting him Sangiac of the iſle of Santa Maura. The grand ſeignior's deſign was to begin the campaign with the ſiege of the places which Doria, and the emperor's other generals, had lately taken; but Dragut took care to have repreſented to him, that the knights of Malta would infallibly traverſe him in all thoſe enterpriſes, and that their veſſels would frequently intercept ſuch convoys as ſhould paſs along the coaſt of Tripoli, or in the neighbourhood of Malta; and that therefore it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to fall with fire and ſword upon that iſland, and on Tripoli, and to employ all his forces for the extirpating of thoſe knights, who, notwithſtanding their being few in number, had never yet failed to multiply as it were whenever a war was carrying on againſt the Muſulmen.

THE grand ſeignior, who had never heard the knights mentioned at his court but as ſo many corſairs, who ruined the commerce of his dominions, entered into

Dragut's meaſures: and, as a powerful fleet was neceſſary for the execution of it, orders were given out accordingly, and they began to work without intermiſſion in all the ports of his empire, in order to build and fit out gallies and veſſels of all ſizes. The noiſe of ſo great an armament ſoon came to the ears of Charles V. He made no queſtion but that Dragut was the cauſe of the war, and that he, for his own private intereſt, would be glad to draw down his maſter's arms, and extend his power in Africa: in order therefore to lay the ſtorm, it was neceſſary that Dragut ſhould be deſtroyed, or that they ſhould get his perſon once more into their hands. Charles V. from an opinion that if the ſultan ſhould find himſelf deprived of ſo experienced a general, who had been uſed to thoſe ſeas for ſo many years, he would then turn the effort of his arms to ſome other quarter, commanded Doria to go in ſearch of him, to fight him at any rate, and omit nothing in order to rid him of ſo dangerous an enemy.

DORIA, purſuant to the emperor's orders, put to ſea in the ſpring with two and twenty gallies, beſides galiots and brigantines, and in the month of March arrived upon the coaſt of Africa. The Chriſtian admiral, hearing that Dragut, whom he was ſeeking, had put into the haven or channel of the iſle of Gelves or Gerba, made for that place; and, in order to prevent his getting out, came to an anchor at the mouth of the channel, in a place called Bocca de Cantara. The corſair, ſurpriſed by the arrival of the Chriſtian fleet, worked all night in raiſing a rampart of earth at the mouth of the channel, from whence he played with his artillery upon Doria's gallies, and obliged him to retire further off out of the reach of his cannon. But the Chriſtian admiral, fully perſuaded that his prey could not eſcape him, immediately diſpatched away ſome brigantines to Sicily, to Naples, and Genoa, in order to have a reinforcement of troops ſent him from thoſe places.

HIS deſign in ſending for theſe troops was, that whilſt he, with his fleet, ſhould keep the corſair in ſight as it were, and alſo block up the mouth of the channel,

they

they by that means might have an opportunity of landing in the iſland, of burning Dragut's gallies, and of taking him priſoner. Dragut, who foreſaw his deſign, and that he was going to be inveſted both by ſea and land, formed, in order to extricate himſelf out of ſo great a danger, a project as bold as it was extraordinary, and ſuch a one as is ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory.

FOR Dragut, in order to keep up the Chriſtian admiral's confidence, and make him believe that he was reſolved to defend the entrance of the channel to the laſt extremity, cauſed ſeveral intrenchments to be made along the ſhore on both ſides of it, well provided with artillery and muſketeers, which made a continual fire when any Chriſtian veſſel dared to come near them; but at the ſame time the cunning corſair, by the help of his ſoldiers and galley-ſlaves, and the aſſiſtance of the Moors who inhabited the iſland, levelled with great ſecrecy, a road, which began at the place where his gallies lay at anchor, on which he raiſed a frame compoſed of ſeveral pieces of timber, covering it over with planks that had been rubbed with greaſe, in order for the better ſliding of any thing upon it. After which, they hoiſted the gallies by the ſtrength of capſtans, upon this frame or floor of timber, and, with great wooden rollers, forced them forward to a part of the iſland where the ground lay much lower, and where he had cauſed a new canal to be dug, on that ſide of the iſle which lay oppoſite to the channel of Cantara, and by which he tranſported his gallies from one ſea to the other. Doria knew nothing of all this, till his being made ſenſible of it by the loſs of the admiral galley of Sicily, which Dragut, out of a kind of bravado, took almoſt in his ſight. The corſair, after this action, ſailed for Conſtantinople, in order to haſten by his preſence the departure of the fleet, which was deſigned againſt Tripoli, and the other places belonging to the order of St. John. The Chriſtian admiral, amazed, and in greater confuſion than if he had loſt a conſiderable battle, came back into the harbour of Genoa; and, in order to evade purſuing the corſair, made uſe of the

honourable pretence of his being obliged to command in perſon thoſe gallies that were to carry Don Philip of Auſtria, the emperor's only ſon, from Italy into Spain; ſo that he conducted the young prince to Barcelona, from whence he afterwards brought back Maximilian king of Bohemia, couſin german to Philip, and ſon to Ferdinand king of the Romans, whom his father had ordered to return home into Germany.

DORIA ſpent all the ſummer in making theſe voyages, whilſt the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, being deprived of his ſuccours, had joined their maritime forces; notwithſtanding which conjunction, they yet did not find themſelves ſtrong enough to keep the ſea, and therefore had ſent to Malta to deſire the aſſiſtance of the gallies of the order. The grand maſter, for the ſame reaſon, and from the apprehenſions they were under of being beſieged, ought not to have ſuffered his gallies to ſtir out of his ports; but the order at that time, and under the government of a Spaniſh grand maſter, was entirely devoted to the Auſtrian intereſt, and a requeſt, or even a bare motion, coming either from the emperor or his generals, was conſidered by the grand maſter as an abſolute order. However, there were ſome commanders in the council, who complained openly enough of the ſending away the forces of the order, and the depriving them by that means of ſo neceſſary a ſuccour, at the very moment they were going to be attacked by the infidels. But d'Omedes, in order to keep the reſt of the council from giving ear to ſuch juſt reaſons, declared his having certain advice that the fleet of the infidels was to be put to no other uſe that year, than [a] to aſſiſt the king of France againſt the emperor: upon which, on his bare word, and ſtill more by his intereſt and authority, the gallies had orders to join immediately thoſe of the emperor; and the grand maſter, to pacify thoſe who murmured at their being employed in this manner, gave orders to the

[a] De bello Melitenſi ad Carolum Cæſarem Nicolai Villegagnonis commentarius.

the chevalier Pied-de-Fer, general of the gallies, when he took leave of him, that in caſe 1653.
he ſhould find the fleet of the infidels were ſteering their courſe for Malta or Tripoli, he then ſhould return with all poſſible diligence into the ports of the order. But for the executing of ſuch orders, it would have been neceſſary for him to have had a ſafe-conduct from the ſea and winds, as well as from the enemy's fleet.

The port of Meſſina was fixed upon as the general rendezvous. Scarce had the ſeveral ſquadrons, which compoſed the Chriſtian fleet, put in there, when they received repeated advices from the Levant, that the grand ſeignior was at ſea, and that that formidable armado ſteered towards the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, but that there was no judging where the ſtorm would fall. This fleet conſiſted of 112 royal gallies, two great galeaſſes, thirty flutes, and ſeveral brigantines and tranſport veſſels, all under the command of Sinan baſha, with Dragut, and another famous corſair called Sala-rais for his lieutenants, together with 12000 men, moſt of them janizaries, on board, and a great number of pioneers, working tools, and machines proper for a ſiege. At the ſame time, the chevalier George de St. Jean, who was returned from ſcouring all the coaſts of the Morea, into the harbour of Malta, reported, that the talk all over the Levant was about the ſiege of Tripoli, or that of Malta itſelf; and that which made the council ſtill more uneaſy, was, that the commander de Villegagnon, who arrived about that time from France into Sicily, wrote from Meſſina to the grand maſter and his particular friends, by which he informed them, that the grand ſeignior's armament was deſigned purely againſt the dominions of the order, and that he was ſet out from his own country purpoſely to bring them certain advice of it, and to diſcharge that duty which by his profeſſion he owed to the order. As this knight made at that time a very conſiderable figure both in France, as well as in his order, it may

not perhaps be improper to give a more particula account of him.

BROTHER Nicholas Durande de Villegagnon was a Frenchman, born of an antient family in the province of Brie. He was one of the handſomeſt men of his age, had a mind adorned with every kind of curious and uſeful knowledge; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed by his valour, which commanded reſpect from the braveſt captains his contemporaries. We have already taken notice of the advantageous manner in which he ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of Algiers, and of the glory he there acquired in the ſight of ſo many different nations as compoſed the army of Charles V. Nor had he leſs diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſea, in the ſervice of his prince, and in the poſt of vice-admiral of the coaſt of Bretagne. This gallant knight, at the firſt report of the grand ſeignior's preparations, and of Malta's being threatened with a ſiege, did not wait for a general citation; but with king Henry the Second's leave, leaving the court, and by that means all his hopes, arrived in Sicily, and acquainted the viceroy with the news he was carrying to the grand maſter. Nor did he fail to repreſent to him, in very zealous terms, the few troops, and the ſmall ſtock of ammunition there was at that time at Malta, Goza, and Tripoli; preſſing him moreover to ſend ſuccours to thoſe iſlands, as being feudatories of the crown of Sicily, and ſerving as a bulwark to that kingdom.

THE viceroy, imagining that the coaſts of Naples and Sicily were more in danger of being attacked by the infidels than the places of the order, ſatisfied himſelf with ſaying, that he would omit nothing that might contribute to the defence of Malta, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the intereſt of the iſland, of which he was governor. An anſwer given in ſuch random and general terms, giving no ſatisfaction to Villegagnon, he went on board a brigantine, and arrived a few days after at Malta. At his landing, a crowd of knights came about him, and conducted him to the grand maſter; when, after having paid his firſt compliments to him,

him, that prince aſſembled the council, had him called in, and asked him what they thought in France of the grand ſeignior's armament? The French commander replied, that it was the common opinion, that all the forces of the Ottoman empire were going to fall upon the territories of the order; that when he, at his coming away, was taking leave of the conſtable de Montmorency, firſt miniſter of the kingdom, that lord had commiſſioned him to acquaint them, in his name, that they would be immediately attacked; that the grand ſeignior, vexed to find a great number of knights in all the armies, both of the emperor and the Venetians; and incenſed particularly at the ſhare they had had in the taking of Africa, intended to drive them out of Tripoli,[a] and the iſles which they poſſeſſed; that he exhorted them not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriſed; that this advice was the reſult of the ſentiments of that eſteem and affection which he bore to an illuſtrious order, and which the grand maſter de l'Iſle Adam, his uncle, had governed in the moſt perilous times, with the univerſal approbation of all the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom.

THIS news alarmed the council; ſo that they uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances, in order to oblige the grand maſter to put the places belonging to the order in a ſtate of defence; and all of them were unanimouſly of opinion, that he ſhould immediately ſend ſuccours to Tripoli, which was but poorly fortified, and whoſe garriſon was compoſed of none but old and infirm knights, who had retired thither for the benefit of the air; that the little iſle of Goza was not tenable, and that it was neceſſary to demoliſh the caſtle, for fear the Turks ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves in a place that lay ſo near Malta; that they ſhould tranſport the inhabitants of that iſland to Sicily, deſire the viceroy to give them a retreat there, and to ask, by way of exchange, for ſome companies of foot to be ſent to Tripoli.

THE

[a] Id. Villegagnon, ibid.

THE grand maſter heard theſe different advices with a coldneſs next to inſenſibility; when, after having expreſſed to Villegagnon how much he was obliged to the conſtable for the great concern he diſcovered for the order, he diſmiſſed him; and making the great croſſes and pilliers of the convent ſtay behind him, he ſaid to them, with a ſneer, "Either this Frenchman is "the conſtable's bubble, or he has a mind to make us "his." But afterwards, affecting a more ſerious air, and which was more ſuitable to an affair of ſuch importance, he told them, that they ſhould never perſuade him to believe, that Solyman had been at the expence of ſuch an armament, with a view only of ſeizing upon Malta; that ſo inconſiderable an object, and the conqueſt of a barren rock, would never anſwer, or make amends for the prodigious expence he had been at in fitting out ſo mighty a fleet; but that in reality the grand ſeignior, who was one of the greateſt politicians of his age, aimed at much higher deſigns; that he was going, in concert with the king of France, to attack the kingdom of Naples; that his fleet, which alarmed them ſo much, was expected in the port of Toulon; that it was immediately to join that of France; and that he likeways had certain advice of the king's ſending thither five mules loaded with money, for the pay of the infidels. That after all, it would be proper, before they ſhould put themſelves to expences, which would perhaps be thrown away, to wait for more poſitive accounts.

AN anſwer, in terms ſo full of coldneſs and indifference, raiſed the indignation of ſeveral members of the council: what Villegagnon had advanced with relation to the neceſſity they were under of fortifying Tripoli could never be thought an uſeleſs expence: but it was but too flagrantly known at Malta, that this prince, whoſe thoughts were entirely bent upon aggrandizing his family, reckoned all ſuch money as loſt, that did not turn to the profit of his nephews; and that the weakeſt pretence, provided it was but uſeful in putting off any expence, how neceſſary ſoever it might

might be, appeared even in his eyes as a ſolid reaſon, and a certain advantage. Inſomuch, that ſome commanders anſwered him in pretty warm terms, that it would not be prudent in the council, upon the doubtful teſtimony of ſome ſpies only, to continue in a ſtate of indolence, at a time when the Ottoman fleet was drawing near, and the fight of ſo great a danger; that it was neceſſary to iſſue out a general citation forthwith, to ſummon together all the knights, who were diſperſed up and down in different parts of Chriſtendom, to fortify all thoſe weak places in the iſle of Malta, which might any way facilitate the deſcent of the infidels, to demoliſh the caſtle of Goza, tranſport the inhabitants of that iſland into Sicily, endeavour to get ſuccours from the viceroy; and, above all things, recal the old knights from Tripoli, and fill up their places with a body of ſuch as were younger, and more able to undergo the fatigues of a ſiege.

THE grand maſter, who was ever fond of money, told them, that he was not averſe to the iſſuing out a citation, provided that they, till ſuch time as a general chapter could meet, in order to provide for the expence that the arrival of ſuch a great number of knights would occaſion, would, in a full council, augment the reſponſions and taxes, which every commandery was obliged to pay. He added, that he could not give his conſent to the abandoning of the caſtle of Goza, which was ſeated on the point of a rock, and which might ſerve for a retreat to the wives and children of the inhabitants of the iſland; and that the people would fight with greater courage and bravery, whilſt they had ſuch dear pledges before their eyes; and moreover, that he laid the utmoſt ſtreſs on the valour and experience of the chevalier d'Eſſé, who commanded there, in quality of governor. As to the exchange which they propoſed to make of the garriſon of Tripoli, he oppoſed it, under pretence that it was not prudent to weaken Malta, in order to fortify a place that lay ſo remote, and that the drawing ſome companies of foot thither from Sicily would be ſuccours ſufficient; and laſtly, that

that he would write immediately to the viceroy upon that account.

HOWEVER weak his reaſons might be, yet all they could ſay had not ſtrength enough to get the better of his obſtinacy, or remove his prepoſſeſſions; and what was worſe was, that his opinion, through the complaiſance of the Spaniſh and Italian commanders, prevailed in council. They likeways laid aſide the deſign of a general citation, from a notion they entertained, that in caſe the Turks ſhould have orders to attack the territories of the order, they would arrive before Malta, before the citation could have paſſed the ſea; when, after making a few ſlight fortifications in all ſuch places as they might make deſcents, the grand maſter continued in as ſtrange and ſurpriſing an inactivity, as if he had taken his orders from the Turkiſh general, or had been in concert with him. However, the viceroy of Sicily, who knew of what conſequence the preſervation of Malta was to Sicily, did, at his requeſt, ſend a recruit of two hundred Calabrians, which he had received from the kingdom of Naples, all of them either ſhepherds or mechanics, who had never bore arms; but they flattered themſelves, that after their arrival at Tripoli, they, by being under the orders, and in imitation of the knights, would inſenſibly be formed to military diſcipline.

ACCORDINGLY they began to make preparations for the ſhipping of them off; but when they were upon the point of embarking, the fear of being pent up in a remote place, that was threatned with a ſiege, made their hearts ſink in them; ſo that the greateſt part of them abſconded: they [a] complained that the grand maſter was ſending them to be knocked on the head, with no other view, than to ſpare the knights and his own ſoldiers; ſo that they could not prevail upon them to ſail for Africa, till they had put twenty-five knights at their head, who were all young men, that had been put under an arreſt, for an inſurrection which

[a] Id. Villegagnon.

which they had made, and whom the grand maſter was not much concerned to part with.

THIS was all the ſuccour they could obtain from the grand maſter for the city of Tripoli. The people of Goza were ſtill more neglected; and, as if he had thought that battalions of armed men would ſpring out of the earth in their defence, they could not prevail upon him to ſend them either troops or gunners; and when the poor inhabitants of that little iſland ſent their wives and children to Malta, in two barks for their greater ſecurity, the grand maſter, in order to excuſe himſelf from providing for their ſubſiſtence, would not ſuffer them to land; nay, he went ſo far as to threaten to ſink them, if they offered to come near the port. In ſhort, all theſe women, with their little children, were forced to return to Goza, and d'Omedes apologized for ſo hard-hearted a procedure, by a refinement of policy, and the pretence above mentioned, viz. that the inhabitants, by having thoſe dear pledges before their eyes, would fight with greater courage and reſolution. A few days after, news came that the grand ſeignior's fleet had appeared off the coaſt of Sicily; that the Turks had made deſcents and great ravages in ſeveral places; that after attempting the ſiege of Catana in vain, they had ſat down before Auguſta; that the town and caſtle had held out but a few days; that the infidels had committed all manner of violence there; and that it was commonly reported, that they were preparing to ſail directly for Malta. 1551. July 13.

THIS diſagreeable news made the council very uneaſy, and alarmed all the inhabitants: but the grand maſter, in order to encourage them, cried out, "We "are not the perſons whom the Turks deſign to fall "upon, and the reaſon of their taking the ſouthern "paſſage, which ſeems to have brought them near "Malta, is only becauſe it is the ſhorteſt way to go to "Provence." And, in order to ſupport his notion by the opinion of the moſt skilful pilots, he ſent for ſome of the oldeſt before the council; and, they, either

ther out of complaiſance, or becauſe it was really ſo in fact, agreed, that if the Turks had really orders to ſail to the coaſt of Provence, the ſouthern paſſage was a ſhorter cut by 200 miles.

BUT at laſt this fatal blindneſs was removed; for the grand maſter, three days after ſaw, from the windows of his palace, the Ottoman fleet arrive, which, July 16. ſailing on with a favourable wind, appeared in good order before the iſle of Malta. Soliman's orders to his general were, that he ſhould, as he paſſed, and according to the diſpoſition in which he found Malta and Goza, endeavour to make himſelf maſter of thoſe iſlands; but that if he found too much difficulty in the execution of that enterpriſe, he ſhould keep only to that of Tripoli, the reducing of which, in the deſign he had of recovering Africa, ſeemed to him of the greateſt importance. The grand ſeignior added, the knowledge he had of Dragut's experience, made him wiſh, that Sinan would undertake nothing of importance without firſt conſulting him. The Turkiſh general, in obedience to his orders, preſented himſelf at firſt before one of the ports of the iſland, called Marſa Muſcet, which is divided from the great port only by a ſlip of land, or, properly ſpeaking, a very high rock.

AT the approach of this formidable army a general terror ſeized the inhabitants of the iſland; every one ſtrove to get out of the way, in order to avoid the fury of the Turks, and ran up and down in ſearch of a place of refuge, either in the holes of the rocks, or in the fortified places. There were only two in all the iſland; one of which was ſituated below the caſtle of St. Angelo, commonly called the bourg, or town, and the ordinary reſidence of the convent at that time; and the other a good way up in the country, in the middle of the iſland, about ſix miles from the town, and the great port, and was called *the notable city*, or *the city of Malta*, after the name of the iſland, it being the capital, and, properly ſpeaking, the only city in it at that time.

MOST

MOST of the inhabitants of the country, both men, women and children, carried off the moſt portable part of their houſhold furniture, and, leading ſome cows and goats for the ſubſiſtence of their children, took refuge in theſe two places. But as there were not houſes enough to lodge all this multitude, they were moſt of them obliged to ſtay in the market places and the ſtreets; and, what added to their misfortune, was their being expoſed all the dog-days to the heat of the ſun, which rages with intolerable violence in that burning climate. The infection, and ſtink that exhaled from the excrements of theſe poor creatures, thus crowded together, would ſoon produce contagious diſtempers; and that which ſtill added to their affliction and deſpair was the want of a well or fountain in either of thoſe places, and there was but little water in the ciſterns; ſo that if the Turks ſhould unhappily reſolve to lay cloſe ſiege to theſe two places, they would be ſoon forced either to turn out all uſeleſs perſons, and deliver them up to the cruelty of the Barbarians, or elſe to capitulate; two extremes which the order, by its charity and valour, was equally incapable of ſubmitting to.

THE knights, through the grand maſter's obſtinacy, were in want of every thing but courage; notwithſtanding which, they were not wanting in the duty they owed to themſelves, and to the order; never had they on any former occaſion diſcovered greater reſolution than they did at this time. The ſame valour, which had ſhone with ſuch diſtinguiſhed luſtre in thoſe antient knights, to whom the order owed its military inſtitution and firſt conqueſts, appeared in them; ſo that one would have thought that they were ſtill the ſame men under other names. The chevalier Upton, an Engliſh commander, and one of the braveſt knights of the order, put himſelf at the head of thirty others, and four hundred inhabitants of the iſland, who were all on horſeback. They marched down boldly to the ſea ſhore, on the ſide of the town, in order to oppoſe the Turks in their landing. The commander de Gui-

meran, a Spaniard, ſallied out at the ſame time on another ſide with a hundred knights on foot, and three hundred arquebuſiers, and paſſed over in skiffs from the town to mount Sceberras, the rock which parted the two great ports; he there lay ſnug, extended on the ground, in order to obſerve the deſigns and countenance of the infidels: He had not been long here, when he ſaw the Turkiſh general appear in his admiral galley, with ſome others after him, ſtanding in to the great port, in order to reconnoitre the moſt proper place for his landing; and as the ſide of the town was the moſt expoſed to the artillery of the caſtle of St. Angelo, he, in order to keep off from it, drew up on the ſide of mount Sceberras; but as he drew near that rock, the commander de Guimeran, ſeeing him within arquebuſs ſhot, made ſuch a furious diſcharge, which was levelled particularly at his own galley, that all the crew was put in diſorder, and let their oars drop. The ſurpriſe which had ſeized the Turkiſh general ſoon gave way to his reſentment; and his pride being wounded in its moſt tender part, to ſee himſelf attacked firſt by men whom he thought to ſurpriſe, and who were ſo inferior to him in ſtrength, he, in revenge, vowed their deſtruction; upon which he made immediately to the ſhore, put into a place where he thought he might eaſily make a deſcent, landed a body of his men, and advanced in order to meet with the knights, and fight them; but the commander de Guimeran, being ſatisfied with his advantage, and finding himſelf far inferior in troops, had, after making his diſcharge, imbarked his ſoldiers, and brought them back ſafe into the town, without loſing ſo much as one man.

SINAN, having fought for them to no purpoſe, went, together with his principal officers, to the higheſt part of mount Sceberras; from whence taking a view of the caſtle of St. Angelo, its ſituation on the point of a rock, and the bulwarks with which it was fortified, "Is that the caſtle, ſays he in a paſſion to Dragut, "which thou told'ſt the grand ſeignior might ſo eaſi-"ly be taken; certainly, continued the baſha, the

"eagle

" eagle could never have choſe the point of a ſteeper " rock for her airy." When an old corſair, brother to Airadin above mentioned, who had formerly been lord of Tachora, either from an averſion to Dragut, or through complaiſance for his general, cried out to Sinan, " Do you ſee, ſays he to him; that bulwark which " runs out towards the ſea, upon which the knights " have planted the great ſtandard of the order? You " muſt know Sir, that when I was a ſlave at Malta, I " carried the great ſtones with which it was built up- " on my ſhoulders, and before you can demoliſh that " work, winter will come on; or, what is more to " be feared, ſome ſtrong ſuccour will come to the be- " ſieged."

DRAGUT was all fire on this occaſion; and, as he himſelf had never known what danger meant, he was prodigiouſly vexed to find ſo much coldneſs and diffidence in his general; and, in order to induce him to lay ſiege to the town immediately, he repreſented to him, that all the ſtrength of the place lay in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and that if he could but once beat that caſtle down with his artillery, he would catch, as it were, the grand maſter, and all the chiefs of the order, in a net at once, who, he ſaid, had imprudently ſhut themſelves up in ſo weak a place.

BUT Sinan was of a different opinion; for he knew very well, that, in order to take a place which was defended by the knights, it was not enough to demoliſh the fortifications, but that he muſt kill all thoſe warriors to the laſt man, before he could be able to force his way into it; ſo that to prevent his engaging unadviſedly in ſuch an enterpriſe, he called a council of war. Of all Solyman's generals, there was not any one, who was ſo timorous in appearance, when any affair was to be deliberated, as he was, though ever intrepid in action; but he never engaged in any, till ſuch time as he had conſidered which were the ſureſt methods to beat the enemy; and that he had taken all poſſible precautions not to be vanquiſhed himſelf. So, after having laid before the council the or-

ders he had from the grand ſeignior, he repreſented at the ſame time, that if he ſhould engage in the ſiege of the town and the caſtle of St. Angelo, he was afraid that that enterpriſe would take up a great deal of time, and prevent his paſſing into Africa, where he was principally directed by his inſtructions to go; and moreover he believed that they, in order to conform to the grand ſeignior's intentions, and to revenge themſelves on thoſe Chriſtian corſairs, had nothing more to do than only to ravage the iſland, and carry off as many of its inhabitants as they could into ſlavery.

THE complaiſance which ſubaltern officers generally have for the ſentiments of their general made thoſe of Sinan be approved. But Dragut, a ſworn enemy of the knights, and impatient to attack them, notwithſtanding the reſult of the council of war, inſiſted ſtrongly, that in caſe they did not think fit to attack the caſtle of St. Angelo, and the town, they ſhould at leaſt lay ſiege to the capital, where moſt of the inhabitants of the iſland had, as he ſaid, ſhut themſelves up with their riches; and which, ſays he, we ſhall find without any manner of fortification, and without any other garriſon but a company of miſerable peaſants, fellows that always tremble, even behind the ſtrongeſt baſtions. As the baſha, at his taking leave of the grand ſeignior, had received orders not to undertake any thing conſiderable without Dragut's advice, he thought himſelf obliged, on this occaſion, to give in to his opinion: and therefore, in order not to draw upon himſelf any complaints, or ill offices from him at the porte, he ordered his troops and artillery to be put a-ſhore. The whole army was now advancing up into the country, and arrived, without any oſtacle, before *the notable city*. The only difficulty they met with was from the cannon, which they were at infinite pains to bring thither, by reaſon of the great number of rocks with which the whole iſland abounded: all their carriages were broke over and over, inſomuch that they were at laſt forced to have them drawn

by

by ſlaves, who employed ſeveral days about it, before they could be able to raiſe their batteries before the place, which is called *Malta*, from the general name of the iſland. 'Tis pretended, that it was founded by the Carthaginians, when the Romans, after having deſtroyed Carthage, that haughty rival of Rome, drove the Africans afterwards out of this iſle; and that the Mahometan Arabs ſeized on it in their turn, and gave it the name of Medina, in memory of the city of the ſame name, ſituated in Arabia Petræa, which Mahomet had called *Medina-Labi*, i. e. *the prophet's city*. The bailiff George Adorne, of an illuſtrious family in Genoa, was at that time governor of the city of Malta, in which above 13,000 perſons of both ſexes had taken refuge; ſo that there was abundance of people in it, though but few ſoldiers, at the ſame time. The Turks, upon their entering the iſland, ſpread themſelves up and down in all its villages and hamlets, and deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword. They ſet the houſes on fire, ſo that nothing was to be ſeen, wherever one turned one's eyes, for the country was all over of a ſmoke, occaſioned by the burning of the houſes and the corn, which they had not had time to get in. The army was ſoon got before the place, when they opened the trenches, and began to raiſe batteries: but all this did not paſs without oppoſition from the governor, who made ſeveral ſallies, not ſo much from any hopes he had of ruining the enemy's works, as to ſhew them, by his intrepidity and reſolution, that he was determined to make a courageous defence.

BUT he was in want of regular troops, and eſpecially of a ſufficient number of knights to command and lead on the peaſants and inhabitants of the country, who had taken refuge in the place; and the greateſt part of theſe peaſants, at the enemies approach, looking on themſelves as the prey of the infidels, repented their having ſhut themſelves up in the town; and a great many of them, fancying they ſhould be ſafer in any other place than where they were, got themſelves let down with ropes into the ditch, and flat-

tered with the hopes of escaping the enemy, met either present death or slavery in their way. The governor, enraged to see himself deserted in this manner, exhorts, entreats, threatens such as were left behind, and, by his own example and resolution, prevails so far as to have some of them formed into companies, heading them with some knights, his friends, who had generously shut themselves up along with him; but as he saw plainly that he should want a greater number, and especially one who had been in sieges, and who was skilled in the art of attacking and defending places, he found means to send a soldier out of town in the night, to give the grand master an account of the state of the siege, and to desire him to send him a recruit of knights, and particularly Villegagnon, whose valour and experience qualified him to share with him in the command and defence of the place.

THE grand master, as well for his own safety as for that of the town, did not care to part with any of those who defended him, and thereby lessen their number; so that all the answer he gave the messenger was, that among such a great number of townsmen and peasants as had retired into the town, it was impossible but that some of them must be capable of commanding over the rest; that the interest of their country, and the defence of their lives and liberties, were motives strong enough to make them all fight it out to the last, and that on such occasions, experience and capacity in the common officers and soldiers was less wanting than vigour and courage. The messenger, vexed to see himself sent back to his master without any succours, and that all he would be able to carry him back would be such an harsh answer, asked him, pursuant to his orders, to send him at least the chevalier de Villegagnon. The grand master, who had, ever since his arrival at Malta, found him more sincere than he could have wished, was glad to get rid of him on so honourable a pretence; upon which he sent for him immediately; and, being come, he told him, with a gracious and obliging air, that he had ever entertained the

highest

higheſt notions of his valour and capacity in the arts of war; that the order in this juncture was requiring new proofs of it from him; that he was deſired to go and throw himſelf into the place which was beſieged; that the great number of townſmen and peaſants, which were in it, was indeed a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all the attacks of the Turks; but that thoſe men, who would eaſily be made good ſoldiers, wanted a leader to ſupply the governor's ſtead in thoſe places, where he himſelf could not be preſent. Villegagnon, with a modeſty that is inſeparable from true valour, made him this plain and hearty anſwer, That at his receiving the habit and the croſs of the order, he had at the ſame time dedicated his life to its ſervice; that it was no longer at his own, but at the diſpoſal of his ſuperiors, and that he was ready to go whenever he ſhould order him. He added, that he deſired him not to take it ill, if he repreſented to him, that there was no great ſtreſs to be laid upon the crowd of peaſants which were ſhut up in the city, they being always averſe to danger, and not to be wrought upon by any ſenſe of ſhame for ſhrinking from it; that in the preſent juncture the governor wanted a ſet of intrepid men, who would fight from motives of religion, and principles of honour; and that, to tell them his ſentiments plainly, if he were deſirous of ſaving the place, he muſt throw at leaſt an hundred knights into it.

THE grand maſter replied, that it had been reſolved in council to reſerve all the knights for the ſole defence of the town and caſtle of St. Angelo; that however to prevent his going away alone, he would prevail with the council to let him take ſix other knights along with him; which, in a word, was all the ſuccour they could ſpare him. Villegagnon begged him to conſider what ſuccour could, in an aſſault, be expected from only ſix knights, who, upon the approach of the enemy, and the thunder of the artillery, would ſoon be abandoned by the peaſants; that, to tell him the plain truth, theſe ſix knights would be only ſent to be

knocked

knocked on the head, and they would be overwhelmed in a moment by a multitude of enemies, without having it in their power, even by the loſs of their lives, to acquire any honour, which is only to be gained in an obſtinate defence. The grand maſter, tired with the ſolidity of his remonſtrances, told him roughly, that he expected courage and obedience, and not arguments, in a knight; and that if he was afraid of venturing, he would find a great many, who would think themſelves highly honoured by ſuch a commiſſion. Villegagnon, touched in his moſt tender part at an anſwer which ſeemed to reflect upon his honour, cried out, "Sir, I'll give a proof that fear never made "me decline danger:" upon which he ſet out the ſame inſtant with ſix French knights, his friends; and, in order to make the greater expedition, and to get there before day, they not having ſaddles, got upon mares that were feeding in the caſtle-ditch, came near to the town that was beſieging, crept in the dark up to the very wall; and, making the ſignals which had been agreed on, they, by the help of ropes, got all ſeven, together with their guide, into the place, without being perceived by the enemy.

AT the report, which in the morning was ſpread all over the city, of the arrival of this little ſuccour, all the people, poſſeſſed with an extraordinary opinion of the conduct and bravery of the chevalier de Villegagnon, diſcovered the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy. The old men, women, and children, never ceaſed to extol, as indeed it really deſerved, the noble reſolution he and his companions had taken of throwing themſelves into the place. The inhabitants ſolemnized his entry with volleys of their ſmall arms, inſomuch that one would have thought that ſingle perſon had ſupplied them with troops, arms, and proviſions: The commander, to keep up their chearfulneſs, told them, that he ſhould be followed by a conſiderable body of knights, and that he was come before, only to conſult with the governor on the moſt proper means for the bringing that ſuccour into the place; but when he was in pri-

vate

vate with the bailiff, he told him the whole truth of the affair, and what diſpoſition the grand maſter was in; he frankly owned to him, that he was not to depend upon any other ſuccour but what his own valour would bring him; that he was come to die with him, but that they muſt, by a brave reſiſtance at leaſt, make their loſs renowned in the order, as well as fatal to the enemy.

THE bailiff, conſidering that the walls of the town could not long reſiſt againſt the batteries of the Turks, made, by Villegagnon's advice, large and deep intrenchments within, which he fortified with planks and epaulements, or ſhouldering pieces well provided with artillery and musketeers. Villegagnon had the inſpection of the work; the knights, who came with him, laid their hand to it; and all the people in general, as well women as men, animated by their example, and their diſcourſes, laboured at it with great eagerneſs: and all thought themſelves out of danger, ſince they had Villegagnon among them.

THE baſha, at the noiſe of the vollies, and the ſhouts which the inhabitants ſet up at his arrival, began to ſuſpect that ſome ſuccour had got into the place. The mares likewiſe, which the commander had left when he got into the town, and which the Turks found the next morning, gave him no longer room to doubt of it; but ſuch weak ſuccours could never have put a ſtop to his continuing the ſiege, had not a letter that the Turks had intercepted in a Sicilian bark, which they took as it was attempting to get into one of the ports of Malta, given Sinan the utmoſt uneaſineſs.

THIS letter was written by the receiver of the order, who reſided at Meſſina, and was directed to the grand maſter, by which he told him, that he had ſent that bark purpoſely to give him advice, that Andrew Doria the emperor's admiral, and the terror of the infidels, was returned from Spain, and actually arrived in the harbour of Meſſina; that he had diſpatched expreſſes and brigantines with the utmoſt expedition to all

all the ports of that iſland, as well as to Naples and Genoa, with orders for all the gallies and ſhips that were in a condition to put to ſea, together with the troops neceſſary to man them, to repair immediately to him; and that he would ſet out immediately, in order to fight the enemy, and oblige them to raiſe the ſiege.

THIS advice was merely feigned, and a ſtratagem of the receiver, who employed this artifice with no other view but to make the baſha uneaſy; and his deſign ſucceeded to his wiſh. Sinan was alarmed at the news; and notwithſtanding that all advice which comes from an enemy might juſtly be ſuſpected, he yet thought at the ſame time that it was not to be neglected: upon which he called a council of war; and, after having cauſed the receiver's letter to be read before them, he repreſented to them, that in caſe Doria ſhould come to attack his fleet at that juncture, that he would not be able to continue the ſiege, without leaving it unprovided of the troops which he had landed, nor could he yet ſend them back to defend the ſhips, without weakening the land army conſiderably, and expoſing himſelf to be defeated by the garriſon of the city, which, in concert with the body of knights who were in the town, might probably attack his lines at the ſame time; that in caſe he, by the ſudden arrival of the Chriſtian fleet, ſhould be obliged to re-imbark in a hurry, he, by a precipitate retreat, and eſpecially in a country full of rocks, would run the hazard of being forced to leave his cannon behind him. He added further, that he indeed had had leave to attempt the ſiege of Malta, and that of the town and caſtle of St. Angelo in his way; but that, preferably to all this, his expreſs orders were to beſiege Tripoli; that he was afraid leſt the month of September ſhould become before he ſhould have finiſhed his enterprize of the city of Malta; that they were very ſenſible there was no keeping the ſea along the coaſt of Africa at that ſeaſon of the year; and finally, that he would not perhaps be in a con-

condition to lay ſiege to Tripoli, after having had the mortification of miſcarrying in that of Malta.

THE council, after having examined his reaſons, and carefully weighed the different reſolutions that might be taken, agreed that the general, without loſing more time in the ſiege of Malta, ought to bend all his endeavours to that of Tripoli only; that he would infallibly carry a place which was ſo poorly fortified; or that at leaſt, by acting purſuant to his orders, he, by that means, would prevent any reproaches from the grand ſeignior, a prince whoſe anger was ever formidable. The Turks, in conſequence of this reſult, raiſed the ſiege, and re-imbarked; but as a thirſt of plunder is the prevailing paſſion of thoſe Barbarians, the baſha, before his ſailing for Tripoli, could not refuſe the giving of his leave to ravage the iſle of Goza which belonged to the order.

THIS little iſland, called by the inhabitants Gaudiſch, is ſituated four miles from Malta to the weſt, or rather weſt-north-weſt, being about twenty four miles in circumference, and about three broad, and is almoſt ſurrounded with rocks and ſhelves; there were at that time about 7000 inhabitants in it, and a caſtle without fortifications, ſeated upon an hill, which commanded a town that lay at the foot of it.

THOUGH ſome commanders had been of opinion, that it would be proper to demoliſh this little caſtle, and tranſport all the inhabitants of the iſland to Sicily, nevertheleſs the grand maſter, as has been already obſerved, differed from them in it, and had brought over the council to his opinion by his intereſt and authority, rather than by his arguments; but they were now ſenſible of their invalidity by woful experience; for the Turkiſh general having in vain ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, he battered it with his artillery. The inhabitants, thro' the fear they were under of being made ſlaves by the infidels, offered the governor to defend the breach; but that knight, whoſe name was Galatian de Seſſa, and whoſe courage the grand maſter boaſted ſo much of, inſtead of improving this

brave

brave diſpoſition, and of putting himſelf at their head, hid himſelf in his apartment, deſpairing to hold out the place. This cowardly conduct, the like of which had never been known in the order, threw the inhabitants into a general conſternation; there was only a brave Engliſh cannoneer in the place, who, levelling his cannon, killed ſeveral Turks, and hindered the reſt from advancing up to the wall.

BUT the gallant Engliſhman being killed by a cannon-ball from the Turkiſh batteries, not a man would take his poſt. The governor, in order to get a capitulation for his own ſecurity, continued in his uſual indolence; but being as great a bragadocio as he was a coward, he ſent to the baſha to demand honourable conditions, which are never granted but to thoſe only who make a brave defence. A monk went in his name to offer Sinan to ſurrender the place, provided that general would bind himſelf by treaty to preſerve his life, his liberty and effects, and thoſe of all the inhabitants. But the Turkiſh general rejected the propoſal with diſdain, and told the envoy, that if the governor did not quit the place that very moment, he would hang him up at the gate. The monk returning to the caſtle with this diſmal news, the governor ſent him back again, to demand his liberty at leaſt, as well as that of two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he himſelf ſhould name; but the baſha ſtinted the number to forty, and at the ſame time threatned the negotiator to hang him up, if he ever preſumed to return to him again; upon which, the governor ſeized with a panic fear, commanded the gates to be opened to the enemy, which was the only order he had given ever ſince the Turks had entered the iſland. The infidels threw themſelves immediately into the place, in order to plunder it. The governor's lodgings were the firſt place that fell a ſacrifice to their greediness; and after having carried all his goods and furniture out of it, they, to ſhew how much they deſpiſed a cowardly commander, obliged him to carry part of them upon his ſhoulders to their ſhips; after which they ſtripped his Cloaths off, and chained him down like a galley-ſlave. In vain did he

plead

plead the general's promiſe, and idly complain of their having broke the capitulation by treating him ſo ill. Sinan, to elude the ſenſe of the treaty, and ridicule him at the ſame time, gave forty poor infirm old men, the moſt aged in all the iſland, their liberty; pretending, that as he had been engaged to give forty of the principal of the iſland their liberty, the oldeſt ought to be looked upon as the principal. By virtue of this forced interpretation, he kept the governor in ſlavery, beſides 6300 perſons of all ages and ſexes, whom he put on board his fleet.

AMONG theſe poor inhabitants[a] there happened to be a Sicilian, who had been ſettled for many years at Goza, who, preferring death to ſlavery, delivered himſelf, and all his family, by the inſtigations of a bloody compaſſion, from the hardſhips and ſhame that attend upon ſlavery, after a very tragical manner. This Sicilian, tranſported with rage and jealouſy, ſtabbed his wife and two young daughters, whom he had had by her; and, reſolving not to ſurvive them, he takes up a fuſee and a croſs-bow, with which he killed two Turks: and afterwards throwing himſelf ſword in hand into the midſt of a crowd of enemies, he, after having wounded ſeveral of them, was cut to pieces, and met with the death he ſo eagerly ſought after.

THE inhabitants of Malta were greatly affected with the news which came of the unhappy fate of the people of Goza; they all unanimouſly expreſſed their abhorrence of the governor's cowardice; and ſeveral knights, the French in particular, from a national antipathy, demanded openly, that they ſhould proceed againſt him: but, as the grand maſter was his protector, he eluded the propoſal, under pretence, that as that knight was in the hands of the infidels, they could not judge him without firſt hearing him; and, in order to conceal from all Chriſtendom the ſcandal that might be thrown upon the whole order for the governor's cowardice, he engaged moſt of the knights, who were

[a] See the firſt book of the relation de M. Nicolai, c. 25. edit. 1568.

either his own countrymen, or in his confidence, to write to their reſpective countries, by which they ſhould declare, that he had ſignalized himſelf by a noble defence; that ſo long as he was living, the people of Goza, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, had always repulſed the attacks of the infidels with great valour; but that this brave governor having been killed with a cannon-ball, the people, by loſing their leader, had loſt their courage at the ſame time, and that the principal inhabitants, in order to ſave the lives and honour of their wives and children, had thought themſelves obliged to capitulate, though Sinan, out of a perfidiouſneſs too often found in thoſe Barbarians, had afterwards openly violated the capitulation.

THIS fiction paſſed for a long time as an undoubted matter of fact all over Europe; and the truth of it was not known, till many years after that unhappy accident had happened. That knight having by dint of money found means to get out of ſlavery, had not only the impudence to appear again at Malta, but managed his intrigues ſo artfully, that he got himſelf acquitted, by the council, of the accuſation which had been brought againſt him for cowardice; and that either becauſe the lords, who compoſed it, thought he had been ſufficiently puniſhed by the hardſhips which he had endured during his ſlavery; or elſe becauſe time had in a great meaſure worn off the indignation which they had conceived at his cowardly behaviour.

THE baſha, after having ravaged the iſland, demoliſhed the caſtle, and left terrible marks of his fury in every place, returned again on board; but inſtead of ſailing towards Provence, as the grand maſter was always for making every body believe he would do, that general ſteered directly for Tripoli. The grand maſter was in no ſmall confuſion when he heard the news of it; and, in order to repair the fault which his obſtinacy, perhaps his avarice, had made him commit, he applied himſelf to Gabriel d'Aramon, embaſſador of Henry II. of France at the porte, and who was well known

known to Sinan baſha. That miniſter had come aſhore at Malta, in his way from Conſtantinople, about the latter end of the foregoing year, when he returned from thence into France; and the king his maſter ſending him back to the Levant, he paſſed by Malta, when, in ſome intercourſe which he had there, he aſſured the grand maſter, and the convent, of that prince's good will towards them. Sinan had left the iſle of Goza ſome days before; and the French miniſter, in a converſation which he had with the grand maſter, expreſſed his concern for his not having arrived ſooner at Malta, as his offices with the baſha might not perhaps have been unſerviceable to the order [a]. "You are not come too late now, replied the grand maſter, and, provided the affairs you are commiſſioned with will but allow you to go to Tripoli, we ſhall be greatly happy if, by the deference which the miniſters of the porte pay to the king your maſter's recommendation, you can but prevail ſo far as to divert Sinan from laying ſiege to that place: and therefore, added d'Omedes, I beſeech you, in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, and in the name of the king your maſter, who glories in the title of the moſt Chriſtian king, to uſe all your endeavours to effect it [b]."

WHAT haſte ſoever d'Aramon was in to continue his voyage, he yet thought there were ſome occaſions in which a miniſter is allowed to gueſs at his maſter's intentions; and, knowing the great affection his king bore to the order, and in order not to loſe a moment's time, he went on board a light brigantine, which the grand maſter furniſhed him, ſailed away for Tripoli, and ordered the gallies that had brought him to Malta to come and join him before the port of that place.

THE baſha had put in at Tachora, which is but four leagues from Tripoli, in order to get intelligence, where he had been received by the Aga Morat, who had made himſelf lord of that diſtrict: he was a Turkiſh

[a] Memoires du chevalier de Villegagnon, addreſſez a l'empereur Charles V.

[b] N. Nicolai, l. 1. c. 15.

officer, and had ſucceeded Airadin, of whom mention has been already made, in that little government. The arrival of the Ottoman fleet, as well as of Dragut, for which he had ſollicited at the porte, gave him a ſenſible pleaſure, which he diſcovered to Solyman's general by the magnificent reception he gave him; and particularly by a body of cavalry well accoutered, with which he preſented him, in order for their ſerving at the ſiege of Tripoli. Sinan, after having repoſed himſelf for ſome days, diſpatched a Moor to that city on horſeback, who carried a white flag like an herald. The Moor advancing to the ſide of the ditch of the place, planted a cane there, with a paper faſtened at the end of it, without any direction who it was for, and cried, that he would return the next day for an anſwer.

GASPARD DE VALIER, of the language of Auvergne, and marſhal of the order, commanded at that time in the place. He was an old knight, who had paſſed through the prime dignities and poſts of the order, a man univerſally eſteemed for his valour, and one who was even looked upon as a perſon highly deſerving of the grand maſterſhip, when that dignity ſhould become vacant; but, for that very reaſon, not over-agreeable to the grand maſter; he being like moſt other princes, who do not always behold their ſucceſſors with a favourable eye. This might, perhaps, have been the motive which had engaged him to ſend him out of the way, under the honourable pretence of ſending him to command in Tripoli: not to mention that the marſhal was become odious to him, for the liberty which he had taken of differing from him in opinion in council, and of oppoſing his ſentiments without any great ſcruple. The governor ſent to fetch the paper which the Moor had ſet up, and, upon opening it, found that it was a cartel, or defiance, containing theſe words: "Surrender yourſelves to the mercy of the grand ſeignior, who has ordered me to reduce this place under his obedience: I will allow you the liberty of retiring whereſoever you ſhall think fit with your effects,

" fects,. but in caſe of your refu'al, I will put you to " the ſword.

Signed SINAN BASHA.

THE marſhal, with the concurrence of the council, had another paper fixed in the ſame place, in which, by way of anſwer, he writ the following words with his own hand; " The government of Tripoli has been " entruſted to me by my order: I cannot ſurrend- " er it up to any one but to him whom the grand " maſter, and the council of the order, ſhall nominate; " and I will defend it againſt all others to the laſt drop " of my blood."

Signed, THE MARSHAL GASPARD DE VALIER.

THE Moor returning the next day, took this paper and carried it to the baſha; who, by ſuch a reſolute anſwer, ſaw plainly, that there was no reducing of Tripoli but by force of arms: whereupon he advanced immediately in good order with his fleet, landed his troops and artillery, reconnoitred the place, and prepared to lay ſiege to it. All the garriſon at that time in Tripoli conſiſted only in the recruit of two hundred men, which were come from Calabria, a company of raw fellows that had never ſeen fire, and about two hundred Moors, the allies of the order, who, though of the Mahometan religion, did yet, out of averſion to the Turks, do good ſervice to the Chriſtians. Tripoli, as has been already obſerved, was ſcarce tenable, and eſpecially againſt a ſtrong army, provided with a large train of artillery; and the grand maſters had ſeveral times intreated the emperor to take it back into his own hands, or elſe cauſe it to be fortified, and put in a condition of defence: but Charles V. in order to ſave that expence, had always anſwered, that he had given the order the feofment of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, by one and the ſame deed; and that the knights were equally obliged to defend thoſe three places, or reſtore them all to him; and that he would not take Tripoli back, unleſs they would give him up.

the iſlands of Malta and Goza at the ſame time. That prince, who was as ſelf-intereſted as politic, had only given them this anſwer, becauſe he was very ſenſible that the knights, having no place to retire to but Malta, would, in order to maintain themſelves there, be obliged to ſtay at Tripoli; and this indeed had been the ſole motive of their keeping ſo weak a place as Tripoli, which the narrow circumſtances of the order had not allowed them to fortify. And indeed the baſha going to reconnoitre the place himſelf, bragged to ſome officers who attended him, as he was returning from thence, that it would coſt him but one bold ſtroke, and he would carry it by a ſcalado: but he judged otherwiſe of the caſtle, which appeared to be well fortified with bulwarks, and he reſolved to attack the place on that ſide.

THEY had not yet opened the trenches, when d'Aramon, the French embaſſador above-mentioned, arrived on board the brigantine of the order, who, as he drew near the fleet, ſaluted the grand ſeignior's flag; and becauſe he put out French colours, he was anſwered by all the artillery of the ſhips. He landed afterwards; when knowing that it is almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in any negotiations with the miniſters of the porte without preſents, he ſent very magnificent ones to the baſha, in order to obtain a favourable audience from him. No ſooner was it granted, but he went to his quarters, and into his tent; when he repreſented to him, that the king his maſter had a particular regard and affection for the order of Malta, and that as that ſociety was compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious nobility of Chriſtendom, part of which were born his ſubjects, he would take it as a ſignal favour if he turned the grand ſeignior's arms another way; and that his maſter, who was the moſt generous prince living, would not fail to acknowledge his obligations to him upon that account, by preſents ſuitable to the dignity and power of ſo great a king. The baſha, who had contracted a kind of friendſhip with the embaſſador during his reſidence at the porte, opened his mind to him. He ſhewed him

his

his orders, ſigned with the grand ſeignior's own hand, by which that prince had expreſsly enjoined him to drive the Chriſtians out of Tripoli: then the baſha, directing his diſcourſe to the embaſſador, ſaid further, that he ſhould loſe his head if he did not obſerve his orders.

D'ARAMON, ſeeing that what he asked was not in his power to grant, was for taking leave of him, in the intention of making all poſſible haſte to Conſtantinople, in order to ſee whether he might be able to prevail ſo far with the grand ſeignior, as to make him ſend new orders to his general: but Sinan, who ſaw through his deſign, foreſeeing that he, by ſuch a change of orders, would be deprived of the glory which he flattered himſelf he ſhould gain by this conqueſt, gave him to underſtand, that he could not let him go away before the ſiege was ended; ſo without having any regard to the law of nations, which he broke in ſo notorious a manner, he ordered all the rigging of the brigantine which had brought him, as well as the two gallies which were come to join him, to be taken out; but if we except this injuſtice, he treated him with all the reſpect which was due to his character.

IN the mean time, the trenches were opened, the cannon was planted upon batteries; and, in order to hinder the knights from repairing what it beat down, the baſha had diſtributed all his artillery into three ſeveral batteries, each of twelve pieces of different ſizes, which fired one after another continually; ſo that whilſt they were again charging the battery which had juſt fired, they at the ſame time fired another, by which means this kind of thunder roared on without intermiſſion. Happily for the beſieged, theſe batteries were pointed againſt the bulwark of St. James, the place that was beſt fortified in all the caſtle, and terraſſed within, ſo that the ball only made a hole, and ſunk down in the terraſs. The Turks had now employed ſeveral days to no purpoſe in this attack, when a deſerter, born at Cavaillon in Provence, gave the baſha notice that it would be proper for him to change his batteries.

batteries. This villain had been ſettled a long time in Tripoli; his religion was, in ſome meaſure, a pledge of his fidelity; but, having been ſeduced by a criminal commerce with ſome Mooriſh women, he had ſecretly renounced the faith, embraced Mahometaniſm, and, being as falſe to the order as he had been to God, he ſtayed at Tripoli for no other reaſon than to ſerve as a ſpy for the aga Morat, the lord of Tachora above mentioned. 'Twas by his means that he got acceſs to the baſha, and that he ſhewed him, that if he was deſirous of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe, he muſt turn his batteries againſt the bulwark of St. Barbe, the ſtones of which were, as he ſaid, looſened by the mouldering away of the mortar, which time had conſumed.

THE renegado's advice being followed, the wall began to tumble a few days after; in vain did the marſhal endeavour to ſupply the want of that defence by intrenchments, which he marked out behind the breach, and within the town, for the continual fire of the artillery, which played day and night without ceaſing upon that very place, killed all the ſlaves whom they employed in that work. Such as were left obſtinately refuſed to ſupply their places, and, tho' they beat them ſeverely, they nevertheleſs would lie down, and ſuffer themſelves to be baſtinado'd unmercifully, rather than riſe and go to a place where they expected immediate death.

THIS fright, which began by the ſlaves, infected afterwards the Calabrian ſoldiers, who were full as great cowards. The greateſt part of thoſe peaſants had been put in a little fort ſituated at the entrance of the port, called the Chatelet, which was commanded by a military ſerving brother, des Roches by name. This officer, who was very attentive to every thing that paſſed in his fort, obſerving the air and diſcourſe of thoſe ſoldiers, found it attended with a ſurly and brutal pride, which made him ſuſpect that ſome dangerous deſign was hatching. Upon his examining diligently into the matter, he found that theſe Calabrians, who had not been uſed to the noiſe of cannon, and

were

were afraid of being buried under the ruins of the fort, had agreed to ſeize upon a brigantine which lay in the port, and to make their eſcape into Sicily. Theſe, in order to hinder the governor from either ſtopping or purſuing them, had reſolved, before they ſhould go on board, to leave a match of a proper length near the magazine of powder, in order to ſet fire to it after their departure, and thereby blow up the little caſtle. The officer conſidering that it would be as dangerous to let them know that he was informed of their plot, as it would be to neglect it, reſolved to give private notice of it to the marſhal; in conſequence of which, he took care to draw them all out of the fort one after another, upon various pretences; and, to prevent all future cabalting, they were diſperſed up and down in different places, and among other companies who were thought to be more faithful. But this change of place did not produce any alteration in the ill deſigns of theſe cowards, and ſerved only as it were to enlarge the ſcene of the conſpiracy; every one of theſe wretches infected the other ſoldiers with the poiſon of their rebellion; nor did the inhabitants, who were upon guard with them, eſcape the taint. 'Tis pretended that this ſedition was privately fomented by ſome Spaniſh knights, who were enemies to the governor. 'Twas now a kind of general conſpiracy; the Calabrians abandoned their poſts through fear, and, joining together in a body, encompaſſed their commanding officer with their ſwords drawn, and threatned to kill him, in caſe he did not oblige the marſhal to ſecure them their lives and liberties, by a ſpeedy capitulation.

THE governor, who was ſenſible of the dangers to which men are expoſed in a ſiege, prepared himſelf againſt their coming like a good Chriſtian, and a true religious, by receiving the ſacraments; and was but juſt come from partaking of the holy euchariſt, when the Calabrian captain advanced towards him, with trouble and confuſion in his looks: being come, he cried out, "Sir, all your enemies are not in the

"Turkiſh

"Turkiſh camp, you have ſome within the town, "who are ſtill more dangerous; and it is with infinite "concern that I am come to tell you, that my ſoldi- "ers, in contempt of their oaths, have abandoned "their poſt, and refuſe to do any more duty. He "told him further, that they cried aloud for a capitu- "lation, uſing threats at the ſame time, and that he "was afraid they ſhould be forced to ſubmit to that "article, in order to prevent a greater misfortune."

THE marſhal, diſſembling his indignation, went very prudently that moment out of the church, and was immediately ſurrounded by the mutineers. He demanded of them, with a ſtern air, why they were not all at their ſeveral poſts: but he eaſily diſcovered their rebellious diſpoſition, by the little reſpect they ſhewed him; for they all, as it were by concert, interrupted him with inſolent cries; ſo that, in order not to expoſe himſelf to ſuch a rabble of furies, all that he then thought fit to ſay was, that he was going to call a council of war. He had no ſooner given notice of it, but all the knights and officers came about him, when, without diſſembling his trouble and reſentment, he cried out, that he had lived a day too long, and that he was very unfortunate, ſince the enemy's cannon had ſpared him, only to make him a ſorrowful witneſs of the rebellion, and the perfidiouſneſs of his ſoldiers; and thereupon he asked the knights their ſeveral opinions about the condition of the place. The chevalier de Poiſſi, or de Poiſſieu, of the language of France, declared, that he had examined the breach with the greateſt exactneſs;[a] that it was not ſo large but that it might be ſupplied by good intrenchments, and that, provided the ſoldiers would but return to their duty, and take heart, they were ſtill ſtrong enough to repulſe the enemy.

BUT a Spaniſh knight, named Herrera, who[b] acted as treaſurer, directing his diſcourſe to him, cried out, "I am not in the leaſt ſurpriſed that you ſhould de- "clare

[a] N. Nicolai, c. 19.

[b] Memoirs de Villegagnon.

"clare for a longer reſiſtance in ſo weak a place, as "you are a Frenchman, and that your king has an "embaſſador at this time in the enemy's camp: you "are very ſenſible, that though we ſhould happen to "be taken by ſtorm, you nevertheleſs would have no "reaſon to be in pain about your lives and liberties; "but our fate will be very different, ſince, being ſub-"jects to the emperor, the irreconcilable enemy of "the infidels, we can expect no quarter from thoſe "Barbarians if we do not prevent an aſſault, and "conſequently our ruin, by an immediate capitulati-"on; and this, added he, is what I think neceſſary "to be done for the ſafety of my countrymen and my "companions." Other officers propoſed before they ſhould come to ſuch a final reſolution, the ſending one of the oldeſt and moſt experienced knights to viſit the breach, and afterwards make his report of it to the council: whereupon the marſhal diſpatched the commander Copier to the mutineers at the ſame time, to acquaint them with this reſolution, and to exhort them to return to their reſpective poſts, till ſuch time as the council ſhould have decided the affair.

COPIER, in order to engage them to it, offered them, in the marſhal's name, to double their pay; he aſſured them, that they were going to viſit the breach, and upon the report which ſhould thereupon be made to the council, they would take proper meaſures to provide for their ſafety; but he repreſented to them at the ſame time, that they, by deſerting their poſts, expoſed themſelves, before they ſhould have time, to treat, to the danger of being ſurpriſed and forced by the Turks; and that the only way to obtain an advantageous capitulation, would be to appear all of them in their ſeveral poſts, with an air of intrepidity and reſolution, and as if they were fully determined to give the infidels a warm reception.

THE commander's reaſons, which were ſeaſonably intermixed with tender intreaties, and generous reproaches, made ſome impreſſion upon the mutineers; but Herrera inſinuating to them, that all theſe promi-

ſes

ſes were deſigned only to amuſe them, and that the marſhal, who was a poſitive man, would rather be killed on the breach than enter into a negotiation, they renewed their clamour, and rejected all the commander's propoſals. The marſhal's reſolute courage, and their own cowardice, by an odd kind of fatality, did both of them contribute to confirm them in their rebellion: for it is probable that they would have been wrought upon more eaſily, had they thought their governor leſs capable of taking a deſperate reſolution. They all proteſted that they would keep together in a body till ſuch time as the breach had been viſited, and that they would not truſt to any body's report thereupon but a Spaniard's only; ſo that in order to ſatisfy them, they were forced to ſend thither an old ſoldier of their cabal, Guenara by name. This ſoldier, after having viſited the breach, reported that it was eaſy to be forced, and hard to be defended; that in caſe the Turks, as no doubt they would, ſhould continue their battery, all that was left ſtanding of the wall on that ſide, would be beat down before night; that there was no poſſibility of making the intrenchments which the chevalier de Poſſi had propoſed, and that they would be of no other uſe than to throw away the lives of a great number of good men. Upon his report, which was calculated for the prejudices of the mutineers, they fell into a new rage, and threatned aloud, that if they did not immediately put up the white flag, they themſelves would make a capitulation, and let the infidels into the place.

THE marſhal finding he had neither ſoldiers nor authority, referred the deciſion of this affair to the council. Though almoſt all the officers deteſted the infamous deſertion of their ſoldiers, they yet, after having made the moſt ſerious reflections on the weakneſs of the place, the open revolt of the garriſon, and the failure of ſuccours from Malta, agreed that there was no remedy left but to ſubmit to neceſſity; upon which a military ſerving brother was ordered to put up the fatal ſignal of capitulation. Sinan, at the ſight of the

flag,

flag, ordered the battery to ceaſe, when two Turkiſh officers came out of the trenches, advanced up to the wall, and ſignified that the governor might ſend deputies to treat. The rebels, who were more maſters in the place than the governor himſelf, declared that they would not ſuffer any French knight to be entruſted with the negotiation, but took upon themſelves to nominate for that purpoſe the commander Fuſter of Majorca, and Guevara, the two ſecret fomenters of the rebellion.

THESE deputies being arrived at the Turkiſh camp, were admitted to an audience of the baſha; when they told him, that they were ready to ſurrender up the city and the caſtle of Tripoli to him, on condition that he would give the governor, the knights, the garriſon, and all the inhabitants, aſſurance of their lives and liberties; that he would allow them to carry off their effects, and furniſh them ſhips to tranſport them to Malta or Sicily. Sinan at firſt did not ſeem averſe to the propoſal; but after he had reproached them with their raſhneſs, as he called it, in pretending to hold out ſuch a weak place againſt a royal army, he declared that he would not hearken to any treaty, unleſs, by way of preliminary, the knights who were in Tripoli would engage to reimburſe the grand ſeignior for all the charges he had been at in that expedition. The deputies repreſenting to him that it was not in their power to make any ſuch reimburſement, he diſmiſſed them roughly, threatning at the ſame time, that he would put them all to the ſword. But as they were going out of his tent, they happened to meet Dragut, who, when he was told the reſult of the negotiation, was ſurpriſed that the baſha had broke it off. The corſair, pretending to be concerned at the baſha's being ſo rigorous towards the beſieged deſired them to defer their departure till ſuch a time as he had had a moment's talk with the general: upon which he went immediately into his tent, and repreſented to him, that he, by prolonging the ſiege, would run the hazard of miſcarrying in his enterpriſe; that ſuccours might poſ-

ſibly come to the beſieged; that the very deſpair of obtaining a reaſonable capitulation, would ſerve the knights inſtead of a new ſuccour, and make them more intrepid; and moreover, that whatever ſtreſs he might lay on his artillery, all he would gain by ruining what was ſtill left of the walls and fortifications, would be to leave ſo many gates open by the breaches he ſhould thereby make for the troops of the order to enter at, before he could have leiſure to repair them, eſpecially in a ſeaſon when there was no keeping the ſea; adding withal, that he, as a politician, ought not to boggle at ſigning the capitulation, becauſe that when he ſhould be maſter of the place, he would have it in his power to give ſuch explications to the treaty as beſt ſuited his intereſt.

THE baſha readily approved the perfidious advice of the corſair; upon which he ſent for the deputies back, and told them, that he, at Dragut's requeſt, had granted what he had refuſed on any other conſideration. The treaty was then agreed to, and the baſha ſwore by the grand ſeignior's head, an oath that is looked upon as inviolable among the Turks, to obſerve it. When the deputies were going to take leave of him, in order to carry the capitulation to the governor, he told them, that it would be proper for him to come and confer with him, in order to adjuſt the number of tranſport veſſels that he ſhould want, and the ſecurity he was to give for ſending them back; for which purpoſe he would ſend one of the principal officers of his army into the city, in quality of an hoſtage.

SCARCE were the deputies got back into the city, when the officer came to the gate, who was immediately let in; the marſhal had called a council of war in order to conſider of the meſſage, and to hear the capitulation read. It was there debated whether it might be conſiſtent with the duty of a governor to go out of his fortreſs alone, and without being at the head of his garriſon; but the mutiny of the garriſon made all deliberation uſeleſs; and thoſe who ſecretly fomented the rebellion, and were afraid of the governor's recovering

his

his authority, maintained, that as the treaty was ſigned, the marſhal had no occaſion to make any difficulty about conferring with the baſha; ſo far from that, that it would even be imprudent to let him ſee, that they entertained the leaſt doubt of his not keeping his word; and the rather, becauſe, as it would be impoſſible for the garriſon and inhabitants to return to Malta, or go over into Sicily, without his furniſhing them with veſſels, they were therefore forced to rely entirely upon his honour; and they unanimouſly agreed, that in order to ſhew him how much they confided in his word, the marſhal ſhould carry his hoſtage back with him: and indeed the rebels were not ſorry to make an experiment, by the treatment which the marſhal ſhould meet with from the baſha, what they themſelves might expect from him.

A GARRISON's diſpoſing in this manner of the perſon of its governor was not to be juſtified by any of the laws of war; but the reader may have obſerved, that ever ſince the time that the ſoldiers had openly rebelled, and which the Spaniſh knights had ſecretly fomented, all regard to the marſhal's authority, and all notion of the duty of obedience, was at that moment extinguiſhed; and the mutineers had no ſooner heard that the baſha demanded a conference with the governor, but they forced him with inſolent cries to go out of the town, for fear leaſt the capitulation ſhould be broke off: he went therefore to the camp, attended only by the chevalier de Montfort his friend, who was reſolved never to leave him, and the Turkiſh officer who had been ſent as an hoſtage. When they drew near the general's quarters, the officer, under pretence of giving Sinan notice of the governor's arrival, went before, and told him in a few words that he had found the ſoldiers and inhabitants in a terrible conſternation, that he fancied he had diſcovered ſomething like a diviſion among them, and moreover, that he aſſured him he might preſcribe ſuch terms as he ſhould think proper to the governor.

THE basha made his advantage of this advice; so that at the marshal's coming in, he assumed an air of haughtiness and pride, an air which such Barbarians generally put on when fortune has declared herself on their side; and immediately asked him, if he had brought the money he demanded for reimbursing the charges of the war. The marshal, without discovering the least emotion, answered him coldly, that he depended upon the capitulation, on his word, and the solemn oaths he had taken to maintain it inviolably. "'Tis not with such dogs as you, replied the basha "in a rage, that a man is to keep his word; you and "your perfidious comrades, who owed your lives at "the siege of Rhodes purely to the grand seignior's "clemency, who would never have indulged you in "them as he did, contrary to the advice of his coun-"cil, had it not been in consideration of your grand "master's engagement, *viz.* that the order should ne-"ver for the future attack his subjects, or exercise pi-"racy in his seas, but respect his flag in all places; "notwithstanding which, in breach of that treaty, "and of all the obligations of gratitude, you were no "sooner settled at Malta, but you fell again to your "old trade of pirating." The marshal, who could not bear so unjust a reproach, replied, that the original of the capitulation, signed by Solyman's own hand, was still preserved at Malta; that there is no such article in it, and that he was ready to send for it from Malta in order to justify what he advanced. He told him moreover, that if he repented of the treaty which he had made with the deputies of Tripoli, he might tear it if he pleased; after which, says he, let the fate of war decide to whom the place shall belong. The basha, provoked at this resolute answer, ordered him to be disarmed, to be put in irons, and sent on board his vessel. The marshal, still resolute and undaunted, turning himself to the chevalier de Montfort, cried out, "If you, brother, are allowed to go back into the ci-"ty, tell my lieutenant, and the commander Copier, "from me, that they consider me no longer but as a

"dead.

" dead man; and as for any thing elſe, that they be-
" have themſelves as their duty and honour may re-
" quire of them on this occaſion." After the marſhal was gone out of the baſha's tent, he diſmiſſed Montfort, and allowed him to return back to Tripoli, upon condition he ſhould tell the knights who were left there, that if they did not immediately ſend him the money he demanded he would have it out of their perſons, and thoſe of the garriſon and inhabitants, who ſhould be all ſold for ſlaves. Montfort had no ſooner told this diſmal news in the place, but it raiſed a general indignation among the knights, who all ſwore they would fight to the laſt drop of blood, to revenge the injury which had been done to their commander. All talk of capitulation was now at an end, they embrace one another, and agree to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, to die all by each other's ſides, and bury themſelves in the ruins of the place. After this, they endeavoured to inſpire the ſame ſentiments into the garriſon; but they had not to do with ſoldiers, much leſs with men; thoſe wretches, inſenſible to every thing they could repreſent to them in order to excite their reſentment, anſwered only like ſo many women, by their tears, or by a gloomy ſilence. In a word, neither remonſtrances, intreaties, reproaches, blows, nor any thing they could do, could prevail upon them to take arms again. The council, conſidering that in ſo univerſal a deſertion, it would not be worth while to perſiſt any longer in a fruitleſs defence for preſerving the liberty of ſuch rebels, reſolved to abandon them to their wretched fate, and leave them as a prey to the baſha, to compound for the liberty of the reſt; upon which, they ſent Montfort back to the general, to tell him, that it was impoſſible for the knights to furniſh the ſum that he demanded, there being no money in the city; but that they would ſurrender, provided he would only give leave to three hundred perſons, whom the council ſhould nominate, to march out in full liberty. The council, before Montfort went to make this new propoſal, upon advice that the baſha

would give no quarter to the Moors, who, tho' Mahometans, had yet ſerved the order with great courage and fidelity, had given them ſuch rewards as their circumſtances would at that time allow, and adviſed them to retire to Tunis or Goletta; and, in order to ſecure their retreat, and prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, they gave them all the horſes that were in the town, and they ſallied out at St. George's gate.

AMONG theſe Moors were ſeveral who, having been a long time in the ſervice of the knights, could not be prevailed upon to leave them in this extremity; but proteſted they would follow their fortune: the reſt agreed to the propoſal which was made them; but ſome of them had the misfortune to be ſurpriſed, and to be taken in their retreat, before Montfort was come back to the camp. They were brought to the baſha, when they informed him that the knights were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and that when they ſhould not be able to hold out any longer, they would blow up all the fortifications, and involve their mercileſs enemies in the ſame deſtruction with themſelves.

THE baſha, ſtartled at a reſolution which would diſappoint him of the booty he hoped to gain by this conqueſt, and leave him only an heap of aſhes, was glad to ſee Montfort return back; he received him in an amicable manner, and, after hearing what he had to ſay, gave him room to hope that he would at leaſt indulge two hundred of the beſieged in their liberty. He then ſent for the marſhal, in order to conclude the affair with him; but before he was brought into his tent, they had obliged Montfort to go out; when the governor being brought into his preſence, he cried out to him, "Has the night inſpired you with better reſolutions, and are you now diſpoſed to pay me the ſum which I ſo juſtly demand of you? The authority I had in Tripoli, replied the marſhal, ended with the liberty you bereaved me of; you muſt now apply yourſelf to others; and ſuppoſing that my bre-

" thren

" thren might ſtill have ſome deference left for my " ſentiments, I ſhall never be for treating on any other " conditions than thoſe which you yourſelf agreed to; " for the reſt, here's my head, diſpoſe of it as you " have already done of my liberty."

After this, the baſha took Dragut and the aga Morat aſide; and whiſpering together for ſome time, they in all probability fearing they ſhould find the ſame intrepidity in the knights as they had done in the marſhal, he drew near to him, when giving him his hand in token of peace; " Let us talk no more, ſaid he to him, " of new conditions, I ratify the firſt, and agree that " all the Chriſtians, who ſhall be found in Tripoli, " ſhall have their liberty; you yourſelf are allowed to " go and aſſure your companions of it, and bring them " out with the garriſon of the place."

BUT the marſhal, miſtruſting this change of behaviour, and fearing leſt ſome new treachery might be lurking under this facility which they had ſhewn in ratifying the firſt conditions, excuſed himſelf from carrying his promiſe of it, on pretence that his having been made a priſoner had put an end to his employment and authority; and upon his refuſal, the baſha ſent the Turkiſh officer, who had been before in the place in quality of an hoſtage: The mutineers received him with as great eagerneſs as uneaſineſs; when immediately crowding themſelves about him, they, without carrying him to the council, preſſed him to declare the ſubject of his commiſſion. The officer told them that his general had ſent him to acquaint them, that he, purſuant to the treaty, would grant an entire liberty to all ſuch as ſhould leave the place immediately; that he would furniſh them with ſhips to tranſport them to Malta, and that all he required of the ſoldiers was to leave their colours and arms in the town; the deſerters ſet up great ſhouts the moment they heard this declaration; and, as thoſe cowardly wretches had ſome days before thrown away their arms as an uſeleſs burden, they did not ſtay for the orders of the council, or the return of the chevalier de Montfort, but fearing the leaſt delay

would

would make the basha change his resolution, and finding the gates of the town shut, they crowded out at the breaches; and the women and children following their example, hurried out at the same gaps. The knights, finding themselves universally abandoned, were at last forced to take the same course; they all rallied under the walls, and, as they were going towards the camp, Morat aga surrounded them with a body of his Moorish cavalry, and, stripping them without distinction of rank or condition, put them in irons, and treated them like slaves.

OF all the Maltese, des Roches the serving brother, who commanded in the little castle, was the only man that would have the carving of his own fate, and who owed his liberty to his courage and resolution. The basha wanted only to possess himself of that little fort, which being as it were the key of the port, commanded it at the same time: the general's agent tempted des Roches with glaring promises, and endeavoured at the same time to intimidate him with threats of death or perpetual slavery. But the serving brother, though he had no more than thirty men with him, was equally proof against them all; so that the Turk was obliged to raise a battery against the tower, which was soon beat down. Des Roches, unable to hold it out any longer, taking the advantage of a dark night, got with his little company into a bark, and put out to sea; others say, that he retired secretly on board the French embassador's gallies, which served him for an asylum.

THAT minister could not behold the loss of Tripoli, and the unworthy treatment the knights met with from the Barbarians, without the utmost concern. At the first news he had of it, he ran to the place where they had been seized, when he found them lying on the ground in chains, half naked, and exposed to the insults of the insolent soldiery. He accosted them in terms suitable to their courage and virtue, and assured them that he would go and employ all his endeavours for the recovery of their liberty: upon this he went immediately to the basha's tent, and represented to him

in

in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he, by ſuch a ſhameful piece of injuſtice, was going to diſhonour himſelf in the face of the whole univerſe, and that the king his maſter, and the other ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, having ſome ſhare in the ſhameful treatment which he ſhewed thoſe knights, who were moſt of them born their ſubjects, would not fail therefore either to have redreſs from Solyman, or, in caſe he ſhould refuſe it, would uſe reprisals upon all ſuch Turkiſh officers as ſhould fall into their hands. The baſha gave him an haughty anſwer, and ſaid, that he was accountable to no one but his maſter; and that he was well aſſured, that that prince would not reſent his having broke his word with a company of corſairs, who, from a diabolous thirſt of gain, had ſo ungratefully violated the promiſe they had given at the taking of Rhodes, never to diſturb any more the commerce of his ſubjects by their piracies; that the governor of Tripoli had in vain endeavoured to clear them from ſo well-grounded a reproach, under pretence that there was no mention made of any ſuch promiſe in the capitulation; "As "if," ſays he to d'Aramon, "an hundred thouſand men "who were preſent at that ſiege, were not witneſſes "ſufficient, and that the grand ſeignior's condeſcend-"ing to ſtoop ſo low as to complain of their breach of "promiſe on ſeveral occaſions, was not infinitely be-"yond all proofs in writing."

The politic embaſſador would not diſpute it with him, but having recourſe to inſinuation; he, by entreaties and preſents, prevailed inſenſibly ſo far, as to have the marſhal, and the moſt antient French knights, ſet at liberty; and the baſha, to ſhew that he pretended to obſerve punctually the ſecond treaty, or rather the promiſe which he had made to Montfort, conſented that two hundred of thoſe who had been arreſted ſhould likewiſe enjoy their liberty. But here he came in with a new fetch, and choſe them, as he had done at Goza, out of the oldeſt and pooreſt of the inhabitants. All the reſt he kept ſtill in ſlavery, together with ſome young French knights, and all

thoſe

those of Spain and Italy, who were the emperor's subjects.

THIS exception made the embassador very uneasy: 'Twas with grief he saw that those amiable youths his countrymen were going to be exposed to perils of various natures, which were so much the more dangerous, as they were seasoned with luxury and pleasures. But he, in order to rescue them from thence, ransomed them with his own money; and as for those knights who were the emperor's subjects, notwithstanding that that prince was at that time at war with his master, he yet engaged to give the basha thirty Turks, all born of good families, who were actually slaves at Malta, in exchange, and to carry them himself to Constantinople. Having done so far, he set sail for Malta, not suspecting in the least but that the grand master would receive him there as the deliverer of his brethren, and arrived in that island on the twenty-third of August in the evening. This minister, when he went on board his gallies, had sent a bark before, with a letter directed to the grand master, in which he gave him an account of all the circumstances relating to the taking of Tripoli. D'Omedes was greatly surprised at this news; and that which gave him still more uneasiness than grief, was the apprehension he was under, lest they should impute to him the loss of so important a place: he was sensible, that a complaint had been made in the convent a long time before of his having employed the money, which ought to have been laid out in fortifying that city, in enriching his nephews: that the loss of Tripoli might probably revive these complaints, which would occasion a strict examination into his conduct, and perhaps end in his being deposed; in order therefore to extricate himself out of so uneasy a circumstance, he resolved to lay things in such a manner as to make the French embassador's conduct be suspected, and throw the loss of Tripoli upon that minister and the marshal; in pursuance of which, he sent for some knights his creatures, and, taking them into his closet, shewed them the letter he had just received from

from d'Aramon. He at firſt broke out only in expreſſions of grief for the loſs of ſo conſiderable a place; when, as if he were unwilling to throw the blame on any body but himſelf, he owned to them with an affected confuſion, that he could never forgive himſelf the imprudent ſtep he had taken, in having engaged d'Aramon to go into Africa, and for having confided in a foreign miniſter, whoſe maſter he could not but be ſenſible was in a ſtrict alliance with the grand ſeignior; that this embaſſador, a cunning and inſidious perſon, and who was moreover the marſhal's countryman, had inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, by pretending to intereſt himſelf in the preſervation of Tripoli; that he probably might afterwards have exaggerated the weakneſs of the town, and the forces of the baſha, and have led him inſenſibly by his artifices into a labyrinth of negotiations, which had at laſt ended in a ſcandalous capitulation.

The grand maſter's creatures, like ſo many ſervile courtiers, without examining whether there might not be ſome falſities in a relation which depended merely upon conjectures, declared openly their deteſtation of the embaſſador's pretended treachery. Each of them, in his way, made a merit of ſupporting theſe conjectures by new prejudices every whit as groundleſs. Some ſaid, that that miniſter would never have deferred the execution of his maſter's orders, nor have been prevailed upon to interrupt his voyage to the porte ſo eaſily as he did, had he not thought he could have been more uſeful to him at Tripoli than at Conſtantinople; others added, that the great want the king of France had of the fleet and forces of the baſha, to oppoſe them againſt thoſe of Charles V. made his embaſſador haſten the capitulation of the place to the prejudice of the order, the ſooner to haſten their voyage to Provence; that the marſhal was inexcuſable for having concluded it without having firſt imparted it to the grand maſter and the council, in conſequence of which, it was agreed, that he ought to be proſecuted for it immediately; but they, in order to get rid of ſo troubleſome a witneſs

neſs as the embaſſador would prove, reſolved to delay the proceſs till after his departure. In the mean time, to render him ſuſpected, and to make as if they miſtruſted him, the grand maſter, at his coming off the harbour, under pretence of its being an unſeaſonable hour, would not ſuffer the chain to be taken away; but ordered the caſtle-guard to be doubled, and took the ſame precautions as in time of war, and as if the enemy was returned to the iſland, and lay before the gates of the place.

THE next day the grand maſter's conſidents, in concert with him, had it whiſpered abroad, though without naming any body, that Tripoli would not have fallen ſo ſoon into the power of the Turks, had it not been for the embaſſador's ſecret intelligence with the baſha, and the marſhal's weakneſs, having ſuffered himſelf to be guided by d'Aramont's perfidious advice. This news was told up and down with all the air of a great ſecret, that was not to be confided but to intimate friends, which, by being ſtill communicated with the ſtricteſt charge of ſecrecy, became at laſt the public talk. Theſe reports, improving by the various conjectures which every body added as fancy might ſuggeſt, ſoon reached, as the grand maſter had intended they ſhould, all the knights houſes, and paſſed from thence to the people; by this artifice, d'Aramon, unknown to himſelf, became in a moment the object of the public execration.

BUT the grand maſter did not ſtop here; for he, in order to make him no leſs odious over all Chriſtendom than he was at Malta, engaged thoſe of his cabal to write word underhand to the knights who reſided in Europe upon their ſeveral commanderies, ſignifying that the French embaſſador had betrayed the order, and delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and that had it not been for the wiſe precautions which the grand maſter had taken, he would have attempted to ſeize on the caſtle of St. Angelo, and put it into the hands of the Turks. Theſe reports were ſoon ſpread over all Chriſtendom, and made a great impreſſion on people's minds.

And

And at laſt thoſe which they had publiſhed at Malta, with ſo much virulence, came to d'Aramon's ears. It would be impoſſible to expreſs the ſurpriſe he was in when he heard them; he demanded an audience immediately, which was aſſigned him in full council: when ſeating himſelf by the grand maſter, and thinking it would be derogatory to his character to ſtoop ſo low as to refute all theſe falſe reports, he only deſired him to call to mind, that he had not gone into Africa, but for the repeated inſtances which he had employed in order to engage him to it; and wherein he, to make him fully reſolve upon it, had mentioned the advantage that would thereby accrue to the Chriſtian religion, and the great regard and affection the king his maſter had for the order. He added, that after his arrival in the Turkiſh camp, he had done all that lay in his power, both to engage the baſha to raiſe the ſiege, and to deliver the knights out of ſlavery; that God had bleſſed his endeavours, ſo that he had brought them back ſafe in his gallies, and that as he had engaged himſelf to carry back as many Turks, who were ſlaves to the order, in exchange, he hoped the grand maſter would cauſe them to be delivered to him, that he might perform his promiſe with honour.

THE grand maſter anſwered him in few words, and with a very cold air, that they were very much obliged to him for his care; but as to the Turkiſh ſlaves he demanded, he ſaid he could not do any thing in it; that it was the buſineſs of the knights who had taken them to diſpoſe of them as they ſhould judge proper, or, in caſe of their refuſal to part with them, it was the marſhal's buſineſs to make the baſha amends. D'Aramon might very juſtly have replied, that there was a yet ſhorter, and indeed a juſter way left, which was to deliver him back the Spaniſh knights, in order for his ſurrendering them back to Sinan: but he thought it would be beneath his character to expoſe the grand maſter's injuſtice: ſo, without condeſcending to complain of it, he went out of the port in a few days, and kept on his way to Conſtantinople.

His departure left the grand master at liberty to go on with the execution of his project; for which purpose he held several secret councils with his creatures about that affair; the result of which was a resolution to ruin the marshal. They agreed, that in order to answer the grand master's ends, it was now time to bring him upon the stage in d'Aramon's stead; but as they could not fall upon him singly, for a resolution which had been taken in a full council of war, the grand master, and those who joined with him in carrying on this black design, thought it proper to comprehend the knights who had the greatest hand in the capitulation, and involve them in the same accusation. His emissaries, dispersing themselves up and down among the knights, took care to suggest to them, that the suffering such a scene of cowardice and prevarication to pass uncensured would be a great scandal to the order: and he himself represented to the council, though with all the outward shew of grief, that the honour of the order obliged them absolutely to call the marshal and the other knights to account for the motives which had determined them to capitulate: "In order, (said d'Omedes, with a pretended moderation) "that they "may be acquitted if they should be found innocent, "or else be punished, if we should have the mortifi- "cation to find them guilty."

The council finding this proposal very reasonable, voted for an immediate examination of the affair, and the bringing of the accused to a trial; and resolved that three knights, of three different languages, should be appointed to take informations about it. The grand master had no difficulty to make the choice fall upon his own creatures; but as these commissaries were religious, and could not in that quality take cognisance of a capital crime, where the lives of the accused lay at stake, it was resolved to give them an assistant, and to put a secular person at the head of the commission, who, after the examination, and the report of the commissioners, was to pronounce sentence, with respect to the nature of the punishment which the fault

of

of the criminals might deſerve. The artful grand maſter, without ſeeming to be any further concerned in it, than as juſtice required he ſhould be, pitched upon a ſecular officer of the iſland, Auguſtin de Combe by name, whoſe fortune he had made, for that employment; he was a corrupt judge, a man capable of doing any thing for money. He likewiſe got another ſecular, a Spaniard by birth, to be choſen ſollicitor of the commiſſion, who had no merit but that of being blindly devoted to his intereſt: d'Omedes, by the choice of all theſe judges, had it in his power to make the affair take what turn he ſhould think proper.

UPON a petition preſented by the ſollicitor ex officio, the firſt ſtep they took was to arreſt the marſhal, and the knights Fuſter, de Souſa, and Errera, who had had the greateſt hand in the capitulation, though after a very different manner. As the loſs of the place concerned the emperor, by virtue of his being lord paramount, and that Tripoli ſerved likewiſe in ſome meaſure to cover his dominions in Italy, the knights who were born his ſubjects, in order to make their court, were not aſhamed to ſeize their general themſelves, becauſe he was a Frenchman; and to throw him into an horrible dungeon, where he had not the leaſt light to comfort him. The grand maſter, fancying his deſtruction to be inevitable, and that he was no longer obliged to keep any meaſures, thought proper, in order to deprive him of all ſuccour, to forbid, under ſevere penalties, any knight's offering to ſollicit in his favour; and that becauſe of the enormity of the crime, and that the intereſt of the ſtate was concerned in it. By another order he enjoined the commiſſaries to reject all the reaſons he might give for excepting againſt the witneſſes; and that they, without having any regard either to the condition or the reputation of the deponents, ſhould admit, without diſtinction, the teſtimony of all ſuch perſons as ſhould offer themſelves, and that they ſhould not oblige them to be confronted with the accuſed: ſo that on the whole, they could ſcarce poſſi-

bly have taken surer measures for the speedy dispatch of an innocent person.

THIS new system of law was the occasion that, among the witnesses which the sollicitor admitted, there appeared some who were villains convict as well as fellows who had been guilty of the blackest crimes; such was one Dominic Cabillan, a Spaniard, whose testimony was allowed of, notwithstanding his having been judicially convicted and condemned of forgery; such was Vanegas, another Spaniard, who, after having renounced our Saviour, and embraced the Mahometan religion, had, to go on still in iniquity, sold his own children to the infidels; this villain they had fetched back from Africa, purposely that he might make his deposition against the marshal; such, in a word, was one of the gunners in Tripoli, who had been taken in the very instant he was going over to the infidels, and would infallibly have been executed but for the marshal's clemency. All good men were infinitely concerned to see that they were resolved to destroy that gentleman at any rate; but the cabal was so strong, and they had made his cause so very odious, that no one durst open his mouth in his favour.

THE chevalier de Villegagnon was the only person who, in spite of the grand master's orders to the contrary, was generous enough to undertake his defence, wherein he acquitted himself with an invincible courage. He declared publicly, that it was very extraordinary, since Tripoli had been lost only by the negligence, and perfidiousness the avarice of those whose business it was to fortify it, and throw succours into the place, that they should nevertheless pretend to make the marshal responsible for another man's fault. Upon these complaints, which were thought very reasonable, that gentleman's friends, and most of the French knights, began to open their eyes, and to reproach themselves for having been made the tools of the passion and hatred of d'Omedes. The grand master, to prevent any effect of their testimony, and the accounts they might send into the several nations of Christendom, had re-

course

courſe a ſecond time to the venal pen of his confidents, all whom he obliged to write unto their reſpective countries as follows, viz. that the grand maſter being deſirous of having the marſhal tried for ſelling Tripoli to the infidels, the greateſt part of the French knights, out of apprehenſion that his being convicted of that crime would fix a mark of infamy upon the language, had taken up arms, and were actually beſieging the grand maſter in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

THIS news, tho' utterly falſe, did nevertheleſs raiſe a terrible indignation againſt the French knights in foreign countries, where they were never mentioned but as ſo many rebels; ſo that one would have thought that the ſingle quality of being a Frenchman was a crime which they could not expiate but by death

D'OMEDES having got the ſtart of them by theſe letters, and prejudiced the world againſt the French, did his utmoſt to bring this great affair to a ſpeedy concluſion; and, before ſuch time as the truth could be cleared up, the ſollicitor ex officio, in concert with him, brought up a ſet of new witneſſes: Villegagnon, diſcovering immediately that they were ſuborned, complained of it to the commiſſioners, brought them convincing proofs of the ſubornation, and repreſented to them, that, ſuppoſing the grand maſter had forbid the marſhal, under pretence that it was a ſtate crime, to except againſt them in any manner, that it yet was their buſineſs to admit at leaſt of the teſtimony of none but ſuch as they knew to be men of probity: but thoſe knights, being wholly devoted to the grand maſter, anſwered him coldly, that that enquiry related only to the ſollicitor of the cauſe; that, as for themſelves, their buſineſs was only to take their depoſitions in the very terms they made them, and that they were equally diſpoſed to hear ſuch as he ſhould produce, either for or againſt the charge; adding, that they would allow him a week's time for that purpoſe; though they had granted the ſollicitor in ordinary two months to bring his witneſſes together. Above threeſcore per-

sons, all men of known integrity, appeared in that small space of time, and depoſed in the marſhal's favour, and by their teſtimony entirely invalidated the depoſitions which the falſe witneſſes had made At laſt the commiſſioners made their report, and the ſecular judge pronounced ſentence in full council, which was to this effect; That, in the loſs of Tripoli, it did not appear that the marſhal and the other knights had been guilty of any treachery or intelligence with the enemy; that the misfortune was entirely owing to the cowardice of the Calabrians; that there were indeed no imperial conſtitutions or laws which inflicted any puniſhment in ſuch a caſe upon a governor and his officers; but that, by the ſtatutes of the order, degradation was the penalty incurred by every governor who ſhould abandon a place with which he had been intruſted, without expreſs leave from the grand maſter and the council; in conſequence whereof, he concluded, by one and the ſame ſentence, that the habit of the order and the croſs ſhould be taken away from the marſhal, and from the knights Souſa, Errera, and Fuſter, as accomplices in the loſs of Tripoli.

THE grand maſter diſcovered, by an air of diſcontent, that he was not any way pleaſed with this ſentence; the only reaſon of his having comprehended the Spaniſh knights in the accuſation was in order to prevent any ſuſpicion of his having proceeded againſt the marſhal merely from a national hatred; and was moreover in hopes, that after he had got him condemned, he ſhould be able to find out occaſions and pretences to get his countrymen acquitted. This ſentence which the judge had pronounced diſconcerted all his meaſures; but in order to remedy it if poſſible, he repreſented to the council, with a pretended moderation, and an affected modeſty, that he thought the judge, in order to put an end to ſo important an affair, had been a little too haſty in pronouncing ſentence againſt theſe different perſons: and that he was of opinion, that a great difference ought to be made between the fault of each criminal, as well as in the different penalties to be inflicted

ed on them; and that for the preſent, the judgment which had been pronounced againſt the marſhal ought to ſtand good; but that that of the officers ought to be ſuperſeded, in order to judge each of them ſeparately, according to the different nature of the crimes whereof they ſtood convicted.

THE judge perceiving that he had diſpleaſed the grand maſter by this general ſentence which he had pronounced againſt all the impeached, changed his mind, without any ſenſe of modeſty or ſhame, notwithſtanding his having given judgment but that moment before; and, in order to pacify the grand maſter, made a new deciſion, by which the Spaniſh officers were excluded from the general ſentence in which they had been included; and declared, by way of explanation, that although he had condemned them all to the ſame penalty, their faults were notwithſtanding of a very different nature. When the bailiff Schilling, of the language of Germany, directing his diſcourſe to the judge, "Are not you, (ſays he to him with indignation) "the moſt profligate fellow living, to change your "ſentiments in a moment, at the leaſt ſign of the grand "maſter's diſcontent? You juſt now gave a definitive ſentence, that as the impeached had been equally guilty of the ſame fault, they ought all to undergo the ſame puniſhment; and a moment afterwards "you pretend to ſeparate the faults, and defer the "ſentence againſt them." "He has ſpoke like a "wretch as he is," ſaid the chevalier Nuguez, of the language of Caſtile; and, turning himſelf to the grand maſter, "I will never ſuffer, (ſays he to him) the ſentence which has been pronounced againſt the marſhal to be executed, unleſs the ſame penalty be at "the ſame time inflicted upon the reſt."

ALL the aſſembly declaring themſelves to be of the ſame opinion, the grand maſter pretended to come into it; but as he was vexed that his prey had in ſome meaſure eſcaped him, and that he could not deſtroy the marſhal only, as he had propoſed to do, he deſired to be heard a moment; he then repreſented to them,

that

that although they had ordered that all the criminals ſhould be puniſhed at the ſame time, it yet would be but juſtice to make ſome difference between their crimes, and the puniſhment which they deſerved; that the marſhal and the chevalier Fuſter ſeemed to him more guilty than the reſt; the one for having negotiated the capitulation, and the other for having abandoned the place of which he was governor; and whereas two ſuch great crimes might perhaps deſerve to be puniſhed with death, he was of opinion, that it would be proper for the council to give themſelves no further trouble about it, but refer the definitive ſentence to the ſecular judge, who had already taken cogniſance of the affair. This corrupt judge having varied in ſo ſcandalous a manner but a moment before, made them reject him with clamour; notwithſtanding which, the grand maſter inſiſted poſitively on his being nominated; but the judge, finding that the warmer part of the council loaded him with invectives, would not proceed any further, under pretence, that as he had pronounced ſentence already, he could not give judgment twice in the ſame affair. The grand maſter, enraged at his not being able to carry his point, put off the affair to another time, ordered the ſecretary of the council to regiſter all that had paſſed, and broke up the aſſembly.

IN the mean time, ſuch as were enemies to the French king and his kingdom, had no ſooner heard of the letters which the grand maſter had cauſed to be [illegible] into their territories, but they gave out that the French embaſſador had delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and had returned back to Malta, in order to let them into that iſland; and that if it had not been for the grand maſter's vigilance, all the knights would have been cut to pieces and Chriſtendom thereby have loſt a place which ſerved as a bulwark to Sicily and all Italy. The king highly reſenting theſe reports, ſo derogatory to his glory, and the honour of the nation, diſpatched a gentleman in ordinary of his houſhold to the grand maſter. This gentleman's name was du Bel-

loy,

loy, who delivered him a letter from his majeſty, dated the laſt day of December, wherein that prince, after complaining grievouſly of the infamous reports which had been ſpread up and down againſt his embaſſador, deſired him to let him know plainly and truly, whether d'Aramon was really guilty of the crimes which were laid to his charge, "in order that if he "ſhould be convicted of it, he might puniſh him as the "greatneſs of his crime deſerved; or, if he was inno-"cent, he might be juſtified, by his teſtimony, among "foreign nations, where he had been ſo barbarouſly "defamed."

THIS gentleman's arrival, and the letter he brought with him, gave the grand maſter the utmoſt uneaſineſs: the ſpreading of whiſpers up and down underhand, the ſending of anonymous letters, or ſubſcribing them with the names of inconſiderable perſons, was a game that was not to be played with ſo great a monarch as Henry II. in an affair which concerned his honour; he was now forced to ſpeak out plainly, and advance nothing but what he was able to maintain before the face of all Chriſtendom.

D'OMEDES, in order not to expoſe himſelf to any diſpute, and to extricate himſelf out of the difficulty he was under, laid the king's letter before the council, where it was read; after which he asked the lords then preſent what were their ſentiments about the anſwer that ſhould be made to it. All the aſſembly were unanimous in their reſolution of writing back to the king, wherein they ſhould declare, that the order, far from having any reaſon to complain of his embaſſador's conduct, had nothing but thanks to return his majeſty for all the good offices they had received from him, and which engaged the whole order more than ever to an eternity of acknowledgments. The council ordered their ſecretary, at the ſame time, to draw up this letter, or rather to get it ſigned by the grand maſter, and deliver it to the king's envoy, or elſe to the chevalier de Villegagnon, who was to return back with him.

D'OMEDES,

D'ONEDES, who ſtill perſiſted in his ſecret deſign of deſtroying both the embaſſador and the marſhal, ſoon repented of his having referred to the council the anſwering of a letter which had been directed to himſelf only: in order therefore to elude the proofs which might be drawn from it in favour of the perſons accuſed, he ſent for the ſecretary, and, without letting him know what uſe he deſigned to make of the letter, he only told him, that as it was directed to a great king, and related to an affair of ſo delicate a nature, the terms of it could not be too well weighed; for which reaſon, he ſaid, he had a mind to confer with him about it at leiſure; and that in caſe the French gentleman, or de Villegagnon ſhould ask for it, he ſhould find out ſome excuſe to diſpenſe his giving it to them; and then recommending ſecrecy to him, he diſmiſſed him.

VILLEGAGNON having let ſome days paſs over, and finding that the ſecretary, during that time, had not taken care to execute the orders of the council, he asked him the reaſon of it. The ſecretary, purſuant to the grand maſter's orders, excuſed himſelf on the ſpecious reaſon of a multitude of buſineſs; and, in order to amuſe him, promiſed to bring him the letter as ſoon as poſſible: but whole weeks paſſed away without their being able to get it out of his hands. Theſe pretended delays made Villegagnon ſuſpect that they had ſome ill deſign again upon the anvil; and, in order to trace it to the bottom, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, and moreover ſet all thoſe knights to work, who, like himſelf, had intereſted themſelves in the marſhal's defence. At laſt he diſcovered, as he himſelf relates, that the grand maſter had had ſome ſecret conferences with the judge who had tried the impeached; that he had reproached him with his weakneſs in having deſiſted from his commiſſion, upon the complaints which had been raiſed againſt him in the council; that the grand maſter had ſaid further, that he was ſtill ſtrong enough, in ſpite of the oppoſite cabal, to get a reviſion of that very proſecution referred to him; but that he would never forgive him, if he ſhould vary a

ſecond

ſecond time in his ſentence; and that he, to oblige him to keep his word, would needs force him to ſign a bond to pay him five hundred ducats of gold, in caſe he did not act in the whole proſecution exactly as he ſhould preſcribe him.

THE perſons from whom Villegagnon had this advice told him further, that the judge, through the fear he was under of loſing his poſt, as well as the grand maſter's favour, had promiſed and ſigned every thing he had required of him; that the grand maſter, after having got this ſecurity from him, delivered him a memorial containing certain facts and articles, which he was to interrogate the marſhal upon; ordering him, at the ſame time, that in caſe he either denied them, or ſhould refuſe to anſwer, to put him to the torture, in order to force him, by the violence of the torments, to own that he had delivered up Tripoli to the Turks, purely upon d'Aramon's ſollicitation. They likeways informed him, that the grand maſter had owned to the judge, that the hopes of extorting this confeſſion from him, in order to ſend it to the king, had been the only reaſon of his having ſo long deferred giving an anſwer to that prince's envoy, and that it was the only way he had left to extricate himſelf with honour out of an affair in which both his dignity and glory were endangered, and which could not be ſecured but by the deſtruction of the perſons impeached.

VILLEGAGNON does not name the perſon to whom he owed the diſcovery of the plot; either becauſe he had been engaged to ſecrecy, or elſe perhaps becauſe it came from the judge himſelf, who might well be afraid to take upon himſelf, without leave of the council firſt obtained, to put one of the great officers of the order to the rack; and was therefore not ſorry that the rumour of this plot might prevent its execution, and at the ſame time ſave him the conſiderable ſum he had ſo imprudently obliged himſelf to pay to the grand maſter. Be that as it will, Villegagnon having a full account of this horrible deſign, went to the council, and demanded, in the name of the king's envoy, that

they

they would deliver him the letter which he was to carry to that prince; representing, that if they should defer his departure but never so little, the season would be so far advanced, that there would be no venturing out to sea. "However, added Villegagnon, in case "the council should have changed their sentiments, it "may perhaps be sufficient, in order to convince the "king of his embassador's innocence, to send him the "result of the commissioners examinations, together "with a copy of the sentence pronounced by the secu-"lar judge: by which instruments alone, that mo-"narch will see plainly that the capitulation of Tripo-"li was not in the least owing to any treachery or in-"telligence of d'Aramon's and the marshal's with the "infidels, but that the loss of it was wholly owing to "the cowardice and rebellion of the Calabrian sol-"diers"

A KNIGHT of the priory of Aquitain, who was a great partisan of d'Omedes, replied, that all the king desired was, to be informed of his embassador's conduct in Africa, and that therefore they were only to answer to that point. The grand master was overjoyed to meet with a man who opposed the proposal of Villegagnon, whom he judged to be too able a man to require a copy of the proceedings against the impeached, but with the view of carrying the king the most irrefragable proofs of d'Aramon's innocence. And, finding that that French knight was always thwarting him, he sternly asked him, where he had learned that the order was obliged to give secular princes an account of their criminal proceedings against their knights. "I never intended, replied Villegagnon, to advance "such a proposition; all that I designed was, that in "lieu of the letter which the council ordered, and "which has not been yet drawn up, the king might "think it sufficient, for his minister's justification, to "have the testimony of the very judge of the impeach-"ed who declares, in the sentence, that his minister "had not been guilty of any unlawful practice, or "criminal intelligence with respect to the capitulati-

"on.

" on. However, ſince you order me, continued the " knight, addreſſing himſelf to the grand maſter, to " give you an account of my particular reaſons for de- " ſiring that copies of thoſe proceedings might be ſent " to France, I will give it you, with all the openneſs " and ſincerity which I profeſs, and, at the ſame time, " with all the deference and reſpect I owe to you, and " to the auguſt aſſembly before which I ſpeak."

THEN raiſing his voice, and putting on a noble and reſolute air, " There hath been, for ſome days paſt, Sir, " (continued he, ſtill addreſſing himſelf to the grand " maſter) a report ſpread abroad, which reflects high- " ly on your honour, which is, that in a private con- " ference that paſſed between you and la Combe, you " agreed to carry on a new proſecution againſt the " marſhal; that that unjuſt judge has engaged to put " him to the rack, and to force him, by the violence of " the torture, to confeſs crimes he was never guilty " of; upon which he is to condemn him to death, and " that after his execution, his confeſſion is to be given " inſtead of the letter which the council has ordered to " be written to the king. This, we are told, is the " only reaſon of that pretended delay which the ſe- " cretary makes in giving the letter to that prince's " envoy."

THE grand maſter fell into a paſſion at this diſ- courſe; and darting fire from his eyes, and all in- flamed with rage, he commanded him to declare pu- blicly from whom he had had ſuch ſcandalous reports. " The name of the author is not at preſent the buſi- " neſs, (replied Villegagnon with great modeſty;) " the only queſtion at this time is, to know from " yourſelf whether the fact be true or falſe." " Ut- " terly falſe," cried the grand maſter. " Declare, " Sir, before the whole aſſembly, replied Villegag- " non, that you acquit your judge of the ſum of five " hundred ducats of gold, which he ſtands bound " to pay you, in caſe he does not paſs ſentence of " death upon the marſhal." At theſe terrible words the grand maſter immediately changed colour, and ap- peared in the utmoſt confuſion; his head was quite

turned, so that he was not master of himself; when, being inraged to see himself attacked so warmly by one of his interiors, he fell upon him with a torrent of abusive language. But Villegagnon, thinking he had done sufficient in having acquainted the council with his ill designs, withdrew from the assembly; the members whereof, being justly incensed at all these villainous conspiracies, appointed another judge, and ordered the secretary, under very severe penalties, to lay aside all affairs, and deliver that very day to the king's envoy, or to Villegagnon, the letter which had been written to that prince, in the form, and in the very words in which he had been directed to draw it up.

HOWEVER positive these orders might be, the secretary, who was one of the grand master's creatures, durst not execute them without first consulting with him about it; he therefore went privately to his palace, wrote the letter before him, gave a new turn to it; and, instead of taking notice in it, as the council had ordered him to do, that d'Aramon, far from having contributed to the loss of Tripoli, had, on the contrary, done all that lay in his power to keep the basha from laying siege to it; he, I say, instead of these terms, so very express in favour of d'Aramon's innocence, inserted a clause which related only to the time of the writing of that letter; and moreover made the grand master say, that the council had not as yet discovered any thing wherewith they could charge d'Aramon. D'Omedes, by this clause, and under pretence that new impeachments might arise, reserved to himself a power of reviving, on some other occasion, the impeachment that had been brought against d'Aramon.

THE letter drawn up in this manner, and dated the 17th of November, was delivered to Villegagnon, who soon saw through the artifice: upon which he carried it immediately to the council to complain about it; and the lords of which it was composed, ashamed of such a series of frauds, took upon themselves to draw it up, which the grand master, after what had passed, durst not refuse to set his hand to.

THAT

THAT lord, after thanking the king for all the marks of kindneſs with which he had been pleaſed to honour him, added theſe very words, as M. de Thou, a famous hiſtorian, who was alive at that time, relates: 'As to what your majeſty deſires of me, I, in order 'to ſatisfy your will and command, declare, that d'Aramon arriving here on the firſt day of Auguſt, 'with two gallies and a brigantine, and having been 'received according to his quality, ſhewed us the order you had given him at his ſetting out for Conſtantinople, to viſit us in his paſſage, and to aſſure 'us of your diſpoſition to ſerve us; whereupon we 'deſired him to go over into Africa, and endeavour 'to diſſuade the baſha from laying ſiege to Tripoli, 'if he had not already inveſted it; or that in caſe he 'ſhould find it actually beſieged, to make uſe of your 'majeſty's glorious name, and his own credit, to engage him to raiſe the ſiege; that d'Aramon chearfully 'embraced this occaſion of doing ſervice to the order, 'but that the Turkiſh general having been deaf to all 'his intreaties, he returned hither, without being 'able to prevail in any one article; that he declared 'publicly before the council of our order, how highly he was concerned for the loſs of Tripoli; aſſuring us withal, that he had omitted nothing in his 'power that might contribute to the giving us the 'ſatisfaction we deſired of him, as having your majeſty's expreſs commands to that purpoſe. Moreover we, in order that the whole world may be acquainted with the true ſource of this misfortune, 'have cauſed informations to be taken on all ſides; 'and, after the ſtricteſt enquiry that could poſſibly be 'made in this affair, we have not diſcovered any thing 'that could any way induce us to believe that d'Aramon ever contributed in the leaſt, or uſed any ſolicitations whatſoever for the ſurrender of the place; 'ſo far from that, our knights, who had been made 'priſoners at that time, informed us on their return, 'that he was not only clear of all manner of blame, 'but had moreover obliged our order by an inſinite

" number of good offices: the report therefore, which " has been rumoured up and down to the contrary, is " very unjuſt, and againſt all manner of reaſon, &c."

" This letter, a copy whereof is in my cuſtody, " (ſays M. de Thou, at the end of his ſeventh book.) " was afterwards ſent by the king to all his embaſſa- " dors, in order for its being publiſhed in the courts " of the ſeveral princes where they reſided." By this means they put a ſtop to the ill reports which the imperialiſts had ſpread abroad, ſo very prejudicial to the honour and reputation of the French. The whole nation owed this ſignal piece of ſervice to Villegagnon's zeal and addreſs; and as this knight was no leſs maſter of his pen than he was of his ſword, he publiſhed an excellent memorial at Malta, which he diſperſed over all Europe, and which is ſtill preſerved; by which it is manifeſt, that the grand maſter, from a principle of avarice, and an invincible obſtinacy, had diverted the ſuccours, which might poſſibly have ſaved Tripoli, another way.

As for my own part, however, without pretending to ſpeak in a deciſive manner in ſo nice an affair, I cannot think but that the treachery of the renegado of Provence, who diſcovered the weakeſt places in Tripoli to the Turks; the rebellion of the ſoldiers; the great [illegible] the two Spaniſh knights were in, and their intelligence with the mutineers; and, in a word, the governor's too eaſy credulity, and the grand maſter's poſitive order againſt putting any ſuccours into the place, were the cauſe of their haſty capitulation, as well as the reaſon why the beſieged, before their taking ſuch a reſolution, did not, like their predeceſſors, hold out till ſuch time as they ſhould be reduced to a greater extremity. The marſhal paid ſufficiently afterwards for his imprudence in going out of his fortreſs, by the long impriſonment he ſuffered: but the grand maſter, who, as we have already obſerved, cauſed the other impeached knights to be arreſted, for no other reaſon but becauſe he could not ſeparate their cauſe from his, got them pardoned as ſoon as poſſible: and, as in all kinds of

govern-

government whatever, that man who has the diſpoſal of he preferments and dignities is generally maſter at the ſame time of the votes, d'Omedes had intereſt enough to engage moſt of the great croſſes who compoſed the council, to conſent to their being ſet at liberty.

AT the very time when the order was in the greateſt conſuſion from theſe domeſtic broils, Leo Strozzi Prior of Capua, having quitted the poſt of general of the gallies of France, from a reſentment he entertained againſt the firſt miniſter of that crown, preſented himſelf before the harbour of Malta, and ſent to ask the grand maſter leave to enter into it. But that prince, who was jealous of every thing that came from France, was hardly enough to refuſe it him; and, either from the apprehenſions he was under of the prior's inclination to favour the marſhal's party, or elſe out of zeal for the emperor's intereſts, and his own reſentment for Strozzi's having but a little while before carried two gallies and ſeveral merchant ſhips out of the road of Barcelona, he ſent him word that he would give orders for his being fired at in caſe he did not retire immediately. An anſwer in ſuch violent and menacing terms and ſo very unuſual in a republic, deprived the prior of any place of refuge in all Chriſtendom, and of any other aſylum but the ſea and two gallies; ſo that in caſe he ſhould be purſued by any body of corſairs who were ſtronger than himſelf, or ſhould be caught in a ſtorm, he could not put into any of the emperor's ports, without being in danger of being arreſted; nor could promiſe himſelf any greater ſecurity in thoſe of the duke of Florence, who was a mortal enemy to all the Strozzi. He would not have met with a better reception in the harbour of Genoa, where Doria, the emperor's admiral, commanded, a general over whom the prior had gained ſeveral advantages during the time he commanded the gallies of France; a kind of affront, which a man would be very glad, if poſſible, to conceal from himſelf, but which he ſcarce ever forgets, or is ever brought to forgive. There was no

other asylum left for the prior, but the ports of France, a kingdom which he had served with fidelity as well as success. Yet here he would have been less safe than in any other part of Europe. Envy, that inseparable attendant upon glory, had drawn upon him the enmity of the whole family of Montmorency: the constable, who was both prime minister and favourite to Henry II. had found means to render him suspected to that monarch; and, at his return to Marseilles from the expedition of Barcelona, he had secret notice given him of a design they had to arrest him, and moreover, that it was expected Francis de Montmorency, the constable's eldest son, would succeed him in the command of the gallies

THE prior therefore, in order to prevent this ill treatment, went on board his own galley; and being followed by that of his brother, got by dint of rowing over the chain of the harbour, and made his way to the open sea; when finding himself safe, he sent back his standard of general to the king, together with a letter which M. de Thou has transmitted to us, the purport of which is as follows: That as he was not born his subject, he had not engaged in his service from any other motive but the desire of acquiring glory; but that now he had no other way left, either to preserve his honour or his life, which was threatened, but to abandon France, and to withdraw out of the reach of the ill designs of his enemies, who, not finding any more effectual way to hinder his showing his innocence, and at the same time to prevent his justification, had resolved to have him assassinated. "I therefore beseech "your majesty, said he, from your wonted goodness, "to pardon me for having left your dominions without "your leave; and I dare flatter myself so far as to hope, "that you may probably one day regret me, when the "events of war shall give you occasion to compare my "services with the exploits of those who are going to "supply my place."

HE wrote afterwards to the same effect*, to the two seigniors de Strozzi, his brothers: by which he told them,

* Memoires de Brantome, t. 2.

them, that he was ready to give the king ſatisfaction as to his conduct; and, in order not to prejudice their fortune, he promiſed never to engage in any meaſures againſt France, "My reſolution, ſays he, being to "make war upon the infidels, for the ſervice of my "order." This was the occaſion which had brought him to Malta; when being obliged to quit that coaſt by the grand maſter's unjuſt orders, and though he had no ammunition or proviſions, but about twenty quintals of biſket, which a knight, a great croſs, and his particular friend, had furniſhed him with privately, without the knowledge of d'Omedes, he ſtood out to ſea, and ſailed for the Levant in company with the commander de Martines, a Navarreſe knight, who was reſolved never to abandon him. The prior landed afterwards in one of the ports of Sicily; and as that commander was the emperor's ſubject, and was perſonally known to that prince he ſent him to his court, to repreſent to him, that he had quitted the ſervice of France, and was actually going to make war upon the Turks and infidels, his majeſty's enemies, and therefore hoped he would give him leave to put into his ports, and there bring what ever prizes he might take. Upon this he continued his courſe, without ſteering directly for any place; when his proviſions afterwards falling ſhort, he ſeized on all ſuch as he could meet with, without diſtinction, from all Chriſtian veſſels that came in his way, not excepting even thoſe of his own order, always proteſting that nothing but neceſſity could have forced him to do it. He kept an exact account of every thing he had taken, promiſing to indemnify the owners for it one day or other, and ſtiling himſelf *The friend of God alone.* He cruiſed up and down the mediterranean during a whole ſummer together, during which time he took ſuch conſiderable prizes from the infidels, that he, at his return, found himſelf maſter of an hundred thouſand crowns. As he was ſailing along the coaſt of Calabria, he met the commander de Martines who had procured him a very ample grant from the emperor; and that prince, who was in excellent

cellent judge of merit, and had an admirable talent at bringing over the generals of his enemies to his ſervice, had em, owered the commander to offer his friend an annual penſion of 12000 crowns, with the command of twelve gallies, and a promiſe of the poſt of admiral after the death of Doria. The prior, who ſtood in the utmoſt neceſſity of that prince's protection, either from a view of ſheltering himſelf in his ports, or in order to return back into Malta, did not abſolutely decline the offer; but as he had already promiſed his brothers, who were ſtill devoted to the intereſts of France, never to bear arms againſt that nation, he ſpun out the negotiation of Mantines: Meantime the viceroy of Sicily, on advice that his maſter was deſirous of engaging the prior in his ſervice, gave orders that he ſhould be admitted, together with his gallies, into all the ports of that iſland, and did not, for his own part, omit either preſents, or any of thoſe blandiſhments which courtiers know ſo well how to employ, whenever they are to bring about any of their maſter's deſigns. The prior was equally polite, but told him, "That he could "not enter into any engagement, till ſuch time as he "had conferred with the grand maſter and council of the "order about it. He therefore, under pretence of ſounding how they ſtood affected, ſent one of his officers thither, with directions to acquaint his beſt friends with his happy return: he ſent alſo at the ſame time, and by the ſame officer, a fine ornament deſigned for the altar of St. Mary de Philermo, which he had got made at Meſſina; and as an indirect reproach on the grand maſter for his hard uſage, he had cauſed theſe words of St. John to be embroidered on it: *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.*

AFTER he had thus given proofs of his devotion, he gave others of his probity; and as nothing but the moſt urgent neceſſity could ever have forced him to ſeize on the proviſions of Chriſtian veſſels, he cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet in all the ſea-port towns of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, whereby he declared that he had depoſited a conſiderable

able ſum at Meſſina, for the Payment of all ſuch perſons as he had been forced to plunder of their proviſions and ammunition, whilſt he was cruiſing up and down. He would needs pay them both the intereſt and principal; which was executed with ſo much exactneſs, that he gained no leſs reputation for his equity and diſintereſtedneſs, than he had before done for his skill in the arts of war: two qualifications, which though they muſt be united in order to the forming a great man, are yet very rarely found to center in one and the ſame perſon.

THE grand maſter hearing of the prior's return, and being informed of the emperor's views, he, in order to bring them about, and force the prior to engage in his ſervice, declared openly, that he continued ſtill in the ſame ſentiments, and therefore was reſolved not to receive him into Malta. But Strozzi's friends, who were ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in the order, ſent him word, that d'Omedes ſhould not have it in his power to refuſe him entrance into the port a ſecond time. Upon their letters, he immediately goes aſhore, arrives at Malta, gets into a ſkiff, and lands without giving the grand maſter any previous notice of his return: when a great number of knights, who admired his valour, came in a body to meet him. Thus attended, he goes up to the palace, ſalutes the grand maſter with that noble aſſurance which virtue inſpires, tho' ſtill with the reſpect that was due to his dignity; when he tells him, that having advice that the Turks threatned the iſland with a new invaſion, he was come to offer him his ſervice, and to join, as he was obliged by his profeſſion, with his brother knights, in the common defence of the order. The grand maſter diſſembled his ſurpriſe, and the ſecret uneaſineſs he felt at his arrival. D'Omedes was at that time at variance with the council, who complained that he, from a ſcandalous principle of avarice, had on one pretence or other, got all the eſtates of the order into his hands. He thought that the preſence of ſo illuſtrious a knight as the prior of Capua, might ſtrengthen the party of the

the malecontents: but as his diſpoſition and conduct was wholly regulated by that of the imperial court, and being ſenſible that the emperor was deſirous of getting the prior into his ſervice, he received him in an amicable manner, and treated him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. He moreover deſired him, after he had repoſed himſelf a while, to viſit all the iſland, and gave him the charge to examine all ſuch places as ſtood in need of being fortified; Bomboſt grand bailiff of Germany, the commander Lewis de Laſtic the marſhal's lieutenant, and Peter Parado a Spaniſh engineer, being joined with him in this commiſſion.

THESE three commiſſioners, after having travelled over the whole iſland, and carefully obſerved all its various ſituations, made their report to the council, whereby they repreſented, notwithſtanding that the town, which was the reſidence of the convent, was fortified by the Caſtle of St. Angelo, it yet was overlooked and commanded by mount St. Julian, a ſlip of land that jutted out into the ſea; that it would be neceſſary to fortify the town on that ſide with new works, and to build a fort upon that mount, in order to hinder the approach of the enemy: that the port, or Marza Muzet, lay open, and was defenceleſs, and that the only way to keep the enemies fleets from entring it would be to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, as being the moſt difficult place of acceſs in all the iſland; that they would do well to transfer the convent thither one time or other, and that in the mean time they could not be too expeditious for the ſecurity of port Muzet, in building a fort upon the point of that rock, in order to defend the entrance of the harbour: And he concluded with preſſing the grand maſter, and the council, to fortify all thoſe necks of land, which were much longer than they were broad, and which, by their intervals, formed a like number of ports, they being exactly ſhaped like the fingers of a man's hand.

THE

THE council, after a mature examination of the report of the commiſſioners, and the ſcheme which they propoſed of the works, reſolved to ſet about them immediately. But as the order wanted a ſufficient fund to carry on ſo many different works at the ſame time, and that the very building of a new town would have drained their treaſury; all they could do, was only to fortify the town with new baſtions on that ſide where it was overlooked; to add flanks and caſemates to it; to ſink and widen the ditch ſo as let in the ſea-water; and, till ſuch time as they might be able to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, they agreed, conſidering the importance of that poſt, to begin with building a caſtle there, with four little baſtions or bulwarks, and to place them in ſuch a manner that they might ſerve at the ſame time for the defence of the city, which they deſigned one day to build in that very place.

AFTER the council had thus reſolved on theſe ſeveral works, the three commiſſioners divided the direction thereof among them. The grand bailiff took upon himſelf the direction of the fortifications which they propoſed to add to the town; the prior of Capua undertook that of the caſtle which was to be built on the point of the rock or mount Sceberras; and the commander de Laſtic was pitched upon to have the direction of the other fort, which they propoſed to raiſe upon mount St. Julian.

THESE three commiſſioners, who were inſpired with an equal emulation, after having ſent for maſons and workmen from Sicily, carried on their ſeveral undertakings without the leaſt intermiſſion. The peaſants of the iſland were employed in digging the ground and carrying the materials. The knights in general, to puſh on the work briskly, were continually in the work-houſes, relieving one another by turns: and all the different orders of the ſtate, as well knights as townſmen and peaſants, applied themſelves to it with ſo much ardour, that in leſs than ſix months time, the town was in a condition not to ſtand in fear of a

ſiege,

ſiege, and the caſtle of mount Sceberras was finiſhed and well provided with artillery. They called it the *Fort of St. Elme*, in memory of a tower of that name, which ſerved to defend the entrance of the port of Rhodes; and the other fort which was built upon Mount St. Julian, was called *Fort St Michael*.

So great was the diligence uſed in the carrying on of theſe works, that we are indiſpenſibly obliged to do juſtice in this place to the generous diſintereſtedneſs of all the knights of that time, both of ſuch as were actually in the convent at Malta, as of thoſe of the commanders who were at a diſtance from it. All of theſe, agreeable to their vows, and from a noble contempt of ſelf-intereſt, brought their money and plate to the treaſury; and the private knights, who had nothing they could call their own but their gold chain, a kind of ornament which they wore at that time, gave them with pleaſure to contribute to the payment of the workmen: an example which has been imitated in our days, when, upon the report of a mighty armament, which, as was given out, the Turks intended to employ againſt Malta, ſeveral knights, without waiting for a ſummons, immediately tranſported their perſons and fortunes thither; and ſome who were old and infirm ſent all their effects beforehand, with their plate, which they had converted into ſpecie.

It would be impoſſible to expreſs the joy and ſatisfaction which the whole body of the knights, as well as the inhabitants of Malta, broke out at the ſight of theſe forts; which, by the diligence of the directors, ſeemed as it were by a kind of miracle to have ſprung out of the earth, and to ſecure the whole iſland from the incurſions of the infidels. The grand maſter and council were highly extolled on this account; but the ſincerer and better part of the elogiums redounded to the honour of the three commiſſioners, and particularly to the prior of Capua, who by his ſkill in fortification, and by his zeal and continual application, had built a fort which defended the port Muzet, and which deſerved to be conſidered as the principal key of Malta.

In

In the warmth of thoſe ſentiments of eſteem and gratitude, which all the convent expreſſed for this illuſtrious prior, ſeveral of the chief knights of the order declared that there was now nothing wanting for their ſecurity but only to ſee him their grand maſter: and as d'Omedes was very old, all their wiſhes declared already in his favour.

THE grand maſter could not hear theſe reports without a ſecret vexation; and as if the very ſight of his ſucceſſor would have contributed to the ſhortning of his days, he, under pretence of intereſting himſelf in making the prior's fortune, endeavoured, by all manner of artifices, to remove him from his preſence, and ſend him from Malta. In purſuance of which he preſſed him, in the warmeſt manner, to enter into the emperor's ſervice; but the prior, who, next to the houſe of Medicis, hated no body ſo much as he did Charles V. their protector, told the grand maſter, in plain terms, that he could never ſo much as think of fighting againſt France, and againſt a king to whom he had formerly plighted his faith; and that no hopes of advancing his fortune ſhould ever make him engage in what he conceived was contrary to his honour, whatever reſentments he might juſtly entertain againſt the miniſters of France.

D'OMEDES finding he was reſolved not to leave Malta, and not being able to endure him there, he, in order to ſend him from thence, and get rid of him on another pretence, propoſed to him the undertaking of an expedition upon the coaſt of Barbary, and the putting of him at the head of an enterpriſe which he had formed upon Zoara. This city, known formerly by the name of Poſſidone, and ſeated in the province of Tripoli, lies thirteen miles eaſt of the iſle of Zerbi or Gelves. Its good harbour had drawn thither, at that time, a great concourſe of merchants of different nations; and this great commerce had greatly enriched its inhabitants. Some Moors who were ſlaves at Malta, had told the grand maſter, in hopes of recovering their liberty, that the place was not fortified on the land-

ſide; that under cover of a kind of foreſt of palm-trees, which ran almoſt to the very edge of the ditch, they might advance up to it without being diſcovered; and that as the inhabitants kept no guard on that ſide, they might eaſily be ſurpriſed, and the city taken before they could have time to recover themſelves.

THE grand maſter offered the prior a ſufficient number of knight and ſoldiers for the enterpriſe, and theſe ſlaves for his guides. Strozzi, who was not out of hopes of raiſing himſelf to the grand maſterſhip, readily accepted of an employment which gave him an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf in the ſight of his brethren of the order. Upon this he immediately fitted out his gallies, and ſome brigantines that were his own, putting 1200 men on board of them, among which were upwards of 300 of the braveſt knights of the convent, who were all eager to fight under the eye of a general who was ſo excellent a judge of valour.

THIS little fleet ſet ſail from the port of Malta on the ſixth of Auguſt, and arrived off the coaſt of Barbary on the fourteenth in the evening. By a miſtake of the pilots, they landed much farther off than they propoſed to do, at a place which was at leaſt twelve miles diſtance from Zoara, and they were forced to march all night long over the ſands, and through ſome groves of palm-trees, with which that part of the country was covered. The general, before he began his march, divided his troops into three battalions. The commander de Guimeran, an old knight whom we have already mentioned led the firſt, being preceded by the chevalier de Strozzi the prior's nephew, whom his uncle had put at the head of ſome young knights, who made a kind of forlorn-hope in this expedition. The main body of knights followed at ſome diſtance, and was commanded by the chevalier Pariſot de la Valette, lieutenant-general. The march was cloſed by ſome companies of infantry, which the chevaliers de Rangif, de Bisbale, and de la Benante had levied in Italy for the ſervice of the order. The prior had reſerved to himſelf

ſelf the principal command of theſe troops, as being the moſt numerous body, out of which he, for that reaſon, might draw detachments, and ſend them to the ſuccour of the two firſt battalions, as there might be occaſion. The army marched forward in this order; and ſome Malteſe in a Moori ſh dreſs, who ſpoke the language of the country, went a mile or two before the reſt, and advanced up into the country, in order to ſee how things ſtood, and whether the enterpriſe was not diſcovered. Every thing appeared very quiet; but as they drew near Zoara, they perceived upon the left, ſome fires in a kind of camp filled with tents and pavilions, the ſoldiers of which ſeemed to be faſt aſleep, and without any ſentinels; upon which they immediately deſired the general to give them leave to go and view them, and afterwards attack them. But as 'twas thought, as indeed it was very likely, that they were a troop of thoſe Arabs, who live generally in camp, and moſt of them naked and ſorrily armed, ſo that there was very little to be got by them; and as they likewiſe conſidered, that it would be impoſſible to attack them ſo near Zoara, without giving an alarm, and awaking all its inhabitants; it was therefore unanimouſly reſolved, that they ſhould defer the attacking of thoſe troops till ſuch time as they had taken Zoara; and for their better ſucceſs in that point, the general ordered his principal officers and captains to march, as ſoon as they ſhould be got within the town, directly forward to the great ſquare, where all the ſtreets met; where they ſhould fortify themſelves, and not ſuffer the ſoldiers to run up and down to plunder, till they ſhould be maſters of all theſe poſts, where the inhabitants might be able to intrench themſelves; and to compenſate in ſome meaſure for ſuch a diſagreeable, but neceſſary reſtraint, he promiſed them two crowns for every Moor's head they ſhould bring him.

AFFAIRS being ſettled in this manner, the army, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night, which was not yet ſpent, advanced in good order, with great ſilence, and found the town buried in a much greater,

it not having ſo much as a ſingle ſentinel, much leſs a guard-houſe, and its gates ſtanding wide open. The Chriſtians entered it without oppoſition; and, leaving ſome companies without to ſecure the entrance, and facilitate the going out, they marched to the great ſquare, drew up in battle-array, and awaked the inhabitants with the ſound of their drums and trumpets. The ſoldiers were no longer to be kept in order. They diſperſe themſelves up and down the ſtreets, break open the houſes, kill all thoſe who offer to make reſiſtance, take priſoners all ſuch as are unarmed, and with ſword in hand force the trembling townſmen to deliver their money. Theſe mercileſs ſoldiers, in order to make a profit of ſuch as had none, bind them, in order to ſell them for ſlaves; and, without any diſtinction of age, ſex or condition, force the old men, the women and children, with blows, to march down to the ſea-ſide, to put them on board the gallies of the order: a wretched way of making repriſals, but which at the ſame time is very neceſſary to repreſs the cruelty of the infidels, and teach them to treat the Chriſtians better on the like occaſions.

THEY had by this time got together in the great ſquare about 1500 of theſe perſons, who were bewailing their misfortune with tears, when luckily for them there arrived ſuccours, which broke their chains, before they had felt all the weight of them. The commander de la Valette had been commiſſioned to put them on board; when a Moor of the town, called Aly Benjiora, hearing his name mentioned, ran to him with eagerneſs, and, after having made him call to mind that he had ſerved under him in Tripoli, "Do "you know, Sir, ſays he, whiſpering to him, that "you are going to be attacked and cut in pieces?" When, to convince him of the danger he was in he told him, that what the Chriſtian general, in his way to Zoara, had taken for a flying camp of Arabs, was a body of 4000 Turkiſh cavalry, all old ſoldiers, and excellent arquebuſiers, commanded by Morat Aga governor of Tripoli, who, going by orders from the porte,

porte, to the iſland of Gelves and having been overtaken by the night, had encamped in the place where they had diſcovered him; that ſome of the inhabitants, who had made their eſcape from the Chriſtians, were gone to implore his ſuccour, and that he had promiſed them to be at the gates of Zoara by break of day; and therefore, continued he, 'tis your general's buſineſs to take proper meaſures in order to prevent his being ſurpriſed.

THE commander rewarded the Moor for his intelligence, and ran to give the prior an account of it: upon which, the general, in order to call his ſoldiers about him, ordered immediately a retreat to be ſounded; but the noiſe and tumult which always attends the ſacking of a town, the cries of the women and maidens whom they tore away all trembling from the arms of their husbands, or the boſoms of their mothers; all this, I ſay, prevented their hearing the ſignal of retreat: though after all, 'tis probable enough, that the ſoldiers, in their thirſt of plunder, might only pretend they had not heard it, as not caring to deſiſt from ſo agreeable an employment.

IN the mean time, Morat fancying he ſhould find the Chriſtians diſperſed up and down in the ſeveral quarters of the place, arrives at the gates, which the Maltese had quitted, in order to have their ſhare in the plunder. Upon this, he enters with the ſame facility that the Chriſtians had done, falls upon ſuch as he finds in his way, kills ſeveral of them and ſpreads a general conſternation among the Chriſtians; ſo that the general of the order could ſcarce find a ſufficient number to make head againſt the infidels. At length day-light appears, and by that means affords the knights a diſtinct view of the enemy and of their own danger. Then indeed they give over plundering. They all endeavour to rally themſelves under the ſtandard of the order; they all croud together as well as they can which however they do but in platoons, and as the place they were in would allow them. Each knight, without waiting for his general's orders,

makes use of those only which his courage inspires; the engagment becomes general, and both armies are mixed together in combat. The Moors join themselves to the Turks their deliverers. Most of the prisoners, during this disorder and confusion, make their escape; so that la Valette, who had the charge of them, could put no more than about 200 on board. The knights, though divided from one another, and pressed by the superior number of the enemy, still make head where-ever they meet them. Some, fortified by the situation of the posts they were in, pretend to maintain themselves in their conquest; others think of nothing but getting to the sea, and retiring on board their gallies: Among whom, the chevaliers Sforza, and young Strozzi, together with several knights of great merit, fought to the last drop of their blood, rather than they would yield; and the infidels would not have had the pleasure to see any of the knights made their prisoners, had not they, after the battle was ended, found the chevaliers de Chabrillan, Marsilly and Bracamont lying in the field of battle among the slain, though indeed they had only fainted away, who were afterwards ransomed.

IN the mean time, whilst the engagement was still carrying on, the prior, who was advancing with another body towards the sea-side, having notice of the danger his nephew was in, turns back, and advances to his relief: but he found, at his arrival, that fate had put it out of his power. The natural desire of revenging his death, and the hopes which the Turks on the other side had of defeating this second body, and thereby gaining a complete victory, brings on another engagement. Both sides return to the combat with recruited fury, and behave with inexpressible bravery. The Christians and the Turks, inspired with the most obstinate hatred against each other, neither give nor take quarter: they all fight and close together; every one grapples with the enemy he meets, and of a general engagement make as many particular duels as there are soldiers in each party. But at length the

Turks

Turks finding themſelves too warmly attacked by the knights, clap ſpurs to their horſes, and retire at a diſtance from that formidable battalion. Here they charge their muskets again, return in good order to fire in the very faces of their enemy; and the prior, who was at the head of his troop, is diſabled by a muſket ball that lodged in his thigh. Immediately the Turks advance forward to diſpatch him, but the ſurviving knights and ſoldiers make a rampart for him with their bodies. The commander Copier, Tolon de St. Jaille, and Soto-mayor, are killed in repulſing the infidels. 'Tis very probable that they would have found it a very difficult matter, in the condition they were in, to reſcue the prior from the fury of the Barbarians, had it not been for a knight of Majorca, Toreillas by name, who being of an extraordinary ſtature, and of a ſurpriſing ſtrength of body, took his general in his arms, carried him firſt from the front of the battalion into the center, and from thence made his way, with equal fatigue and danger, through a ſhower of muſket ſhot, which was continually levelled at him, to the ſea-ſide.

HERE this generous knight, loaded with a burden that was more honourable than it was troubleſome, met with new dangers. The ſea was low in this place, and ſome banks of ſand, which are very frequently met with along this coaſt, hindered the ſmalleſt ſhallops from coming to the ſhore. Toreillas however goes into the ſea up to his waiſt, and with infinite difficulty goes from rock to rock, and from ſhelf to ſhelf, till at laſt he comes to deeper water, where the long boat of the admiral galley came to his aſſiſtance, and took him in together with the prior.

'TIS probable, that in any other body but that of Malta, the retreat of a wounded general would have damped the courage of the ſoldiers: but the knights, who being all of them, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, born generals, and animated with the ſame courage, were ſuſceptible of no other paſſion but that of joy. When they found their general was ſafe, indifferent,

rent as to their own fate, all the concern they had now left was for the ſtandard of the order, which the chevalier Caſſiere carried, to prevent its falling into the hands of the infidels.

THE prior being ſafe, they now conſidered what meaſures they ſhould take; and they agreed to keep always in a body, and make a kind of a running fight, till ſuch time as they ſhould get to the ſea ſide; for which purpoſe, they begin their retreat, being purſued all the way by the Turks who, knowing that the ſhallops could not come near the ſhore, expected to kill all ſuch as ſhould lag behind, as well as thoſe who, being got to the ſea, were ſtill within the reach of their arms.

DURING this march, which was frequently interrupted, the Chriſtians, as they drew near the ſea, met with a rock on the point of a narrow paſs, which they immediately ſeized upon, in order that they might have time to take breath. They, from this place, had a full view of the gallies and the ſhallops that attended them: but the buſineſs was how to get to them. La Caſſiere, who would have ſacrificed a thouſand lives, rather than hazard the ſtandard of the order, repreſented to the oldeſt knights, that in caſe the army kept together in a body by the ſea ſide, the infidels who followed cloſe at their heels, would fall upon them with more fury than ever; that whilſt ſome ſhould be endeavouring to ſave themſelves in the water, others would be engaged with the enemy; and that in ſuch a diſorder and confuſion, they would be in danger of loſing the ſtandard of St. John; ſo that in order to prevent a diſgrace of that nature, it would be proper for the knights alone to ſtay behind to guard it, and make head in the paſs to ſtop the impetuoſity of the Turks; during which the wounded, and the reſt of the ſoldiers, ſhould file off inſenſibly, and get, one after another, on board the gallies and veſſels of the order; and that when they once ſhould have got rid of that troubleſome multitude, it would not be impoſſible for a ſmall number of knights, who moſt of them could ſwim, to diſperſe them-

themſelves, and by that means eſcape, one after another, the obſtinate purſuit of the infidels.

THE propoſal was very much approved of, eſpecially by the ſoldiers, who were the firſt to reap the benefit of it; and la Caſſiere, pointing to the longboats and ſhallops that lay at no great diſtance, cried out, "Save "yourſelves, my friends, and provide for your own ſe"curity, whilſt my comrades and I continue here to "ſtop the purſuit of our enemies; we may, perhaps, "be ſo fortunate as to follow at your heels; but in "caſe we ſhould be cut to pieces, the order will not "fail to reward your ſervices, and the ſubſtantial "proofs you have now given of your bravery." Upon this the ſoldiers marched off, and filing, one after another, got to the ſea ſide, waded into the water, and went on board the veſſels that waited for them.

THE rage of the Turks increaſed with redoubled fury, when they ſaw that part of their prey had eſcaped them; upon which they make a freſh charge, and endeavour to force the entrance of the paſs.

BUT the knights, who were ever intrepid, made a formidable reſiſtance with their ſwords and pikes. The aga attacked them in vain with his cavalry; but not being able to make them give way, he orders his troopers to diſmount, and advances, ſabre in hand, into the paſs to force it. The Turks, with their broad ſcimiters, cut the wood of the pikes in two, break the ſwords of the knights, and flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſoon diſpatching that ſmall remnant of them, whom they imagine to be animated only by deſpair. But thoſe intrepid warriors, though moſt of them had at laſt no weapons left but their daggers, grapple with the Turks, ſlay or wound ſuch as they can lay hold on, and make themſelves dreaded, and even admired by thoſe Barbarians.

THE aga, perſuaded that he ſhould not carry his point but by the fire of his muſketeers, orders his cavalry to remount on horſeback. Whilſt this was doing, Verdalle turning towards la Caſſiere, cries out to him, "What are you doing here? Are we to wait 'til

"the

" the infidels kill us one after another, and that the " ſtandard of the order, to our eternal reproach, fall " into the hands of thoſe dogs? Believe me, brother, " we are hard by the ſea ſide, let us follow the ſteps " which our illuſtrious general has marked out for us " with his blood, and endeavour, after his example, " to get to our gallies. The water, you know, is low, " and we may all get thither if we make ſome ſtruggle, " and afterwards throw ourſelves into it; and if there " ſhould happen to be, as they tell us there is, any " channels among the ſhelves of ſand, that are deeper " than ordinary, we knights that ſurvive, will carry " you by turns, with the ſtandard of our holy order; " and if any one of us can but ſave it, let death come " afterwards whenever it ſhall pleaſe God."

THE commander de la Caſſiere, finding that to be the only expedient they had left, reſolved to make uſe of it; accordingly he ſet out with his little troop, which marched a great pace, but keeping cloſe together as uſual. When they were come near the ſea, the knights ſeparated themſelves, diſperſed in a moment, and threw themſelves into the water in different places. La Caſſiere, ſupported by Verdalle, and ſome other knights, waded into it, and with an invincible courage, holding his banner always aloft, in the midſt of a ſtorm of musket-ſhot, made his way to the ſhallops, and was taken on board with great ſhouts and acclamations: but ſeveral knights, who faced about, and ſtood their ground on the ſea-ſide, in order to gain him time to make his retreat, dropped, and were killed by the continual fire of the enemy.

THE order loſt moſt of the knights and military ſerving brothers that were in this unfortunate expedition; and, among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of that number, hiſtory has preſerved us the names of Dupuy Monbrun, Saint Marcel, d'Avanſon, de Briançon, de Bonne, la Rochette, la Roche Montmor, de la Motte, all of them deſcended of the principal families of the province of Dauphine; St Sulpice, Puipatron, Gilbert, Brichanteau, Bauvais Nangis, Harancourt, le Pleſſis Richelieu,

de

de Gordes, knights of the language of France, were alſo killed: that of Italy loſt the two Valparges, Sforza, young Strozzi, Grimaldi, and Juſtiniani; as Spain did Berenger, Soto-major, Perez Pachieco, Montroy, Touar, and Barientos, who met with the ſame fate. We are not to omit, that the chevalier Poglieze, of the language of Italy, was killed by the ſea ſide with a musket ball, as he was ſupporting with one hand the ſtandard of the order which la Caſſiere carried; he was a knight of ſingular piety, who, by his example, and the whole tenor of his life, made it manifeſt, that a conſtant and faithful practice of the moſt ſevere virtues is not any way inconſiſtent with the moſt diſtinguiſhed valour.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK XII.

THE prior of Capua, getting his ſhips together, ſet ſail, and returned with the ſhattered remains of his troops into the port of Malta[a]. His wounds had weakened him ſo much, that he was forced to be carried upon a plank to his own houſe: he was followed by the greateſt part of his officers, who were hardly in a better condition than their general. But though he had loſt a conſiderable number of knights, by the unavoidable hazards of war, in this unfortunate expedition, he yet did

JOHN D'OMEDES. 1552.

[a] Jacques Pozani Vecentin. v. de L. Strozzi.

did not loſe the glory which he had acquired on other occaſions, nor the reputation of being a wiſe and valiant captain; both the officers and ſoldiers doing him this juſtice, that at the time he deſpaired of being able to vanquiſh the vaſt multitude of enemies that had ſurpriſed and ſurrounded him, they had never ſeen him give his orders with greater temper and preſence of mind, and, at the ſame time, fight with more intrepidity and courage. Upon teſtimonies ſo very honourable, and ſealed, as it were, with his blood, he was rechoſen general of the gallies. As the ſea was his element, he had not patience to wait till his wounds were quite cloſed, but ſet ſail again, and ſpent all the ſummer in ſcouring the Mediterranean up to the very mouth of the Nile.

HE was the terror of thoſe ſeas; every ſhip fled his preſence, and the braveſt corſairs took all the care they could to avoid him. This, however, was very often ineffectual, many of them being taken and made ſlaves; whoſe fleets of merchants, notwithſtanding their convoys, falling into his hands. He carried his prizes into the ports of the order, bringing thither at the ſame time, plenty, luxury, and pleaſures.

WHILST they were taken up at Malta in celebrating his return with rejoicings, which always attend on good ſucceſs, there arrived news of a different nature, of great importance to the order, and to the Engliſh knights in particular. A ſhip of that nation, captain Holmadan commander, came into the harbour. That officer had the character of envoy of the queen of England, and in that quality was admitted to an audience of the grand maſter, to whom he preſented a letter from her majeſty, in which ſhe told him, that God having placed her on the throne of her anceſtors, ſhe had reſolved, for the diſcharge of her conſcience, to reſtore all the commandries and eſtates, which king Henry VIII. her father, and Edward VI. her brother, had unjuſtly taken from the order; and ſhe concluded her letter with deſiring him and the council to ſend immediately ſome of the knights to London, with

ample powers, to take poſſeſſion of all the commandries and places that had belonged to their order.

THIS ſurprizing news occaſioned great rejoicings at Malta, eſpecially among the Engliſh knights, who conſidered that happy revolution as an earneſt of the reeſtabliſhment of the true religion in their country. But in a nation ſo jealous of its liberty, ſuch a reſtitution of church lands was not brought about without great difficulties. For the better underſtanding of ſo important an affair, we muſt recollect what was ſaid in the tenth book, about the unreaſonable motives that had engaged Henry VIII. to uſurp the lands of the monaſteries and commandries within his dominions. And perhaps it may not be improper, in order to the ſetting of this point of hiſtory in its full light, to give here a ſhort account of the laſt actions of that prince, and alſo of the ſeveral tranſactions that happened in England after his death, during the ſhort reign of young Edward his ſon, and the beginning of that of queen Mary, his eldeſt daughter. Henry, finding his end drawing near, ſettled the order of ſucceſſion to his crown, which, by reaſon of his various marriages, had been changed ſeveral times; he, ſince his ſeparation from Catharine of Arragon his firſt wife, having married five other women, moſt of whom he had either put to death, or rid himſelf of them by an arbitrary divorce.

As this ſucceſſive polygamy might cauſe diſturbances in the kingdom after his death, and occaſion civil wars between his children, the parliament, the living and ſupreme law of that nation, gave him power to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown as he ſhould ſee fitting. Henry, by virtue of this act, had, ſome time before his death, declared his ſon prince Edward, who was hardly nine years and a half old, and whom he had had by Jane Seymour his third wife, for his ſucceſſor. He likeways, in order to ſhew the world that he ſtill maintained the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, declared the princeſs Mary, his eldeſt daughter, a baſtard; though, before his divorce, he had acknowledged her as princeſs of Wales, and, in that quality,

quality, preſumptive heir of the crown. Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to Ann Boleyn, his ſecond wife, ſucceeded to this great title after her ſiſter, which ſhe alſo loſt in her turn, upon her mother's execution. The king, their father, to gratify his third wife, had got an act of parliament to paſs, by which they were both deprived of the ſucceſſion to the crown: but a few days before his death, he reſtored them to their juſt rights, and declared them his heirs, in caſe prince Edward ſhould happen to die without iſſue.

THESE two princeſſes were as oppoſite to each other in their characters, as they were in the different intereſts of their birth. The eldeſt, brought up by a Spaniſh mother, and deſcended on her ſide from the kings of Arragon and Caſtile, was naturally proud and haughty: her education had made her a zealous Roman catholic; ſhe was naturally devout, and moreover devoted to the holy ſee, as her intereſt required, which had interpoſed its authority to legitimate the marriage of the queen her mother.

As Elizabeth's pretenſions were null, by the validity of this diſpenſation, ſome concealed proteſtants, her mother's creatures, had brought her up in a great eſtrangement, and kind of contempt for the power of the ſovereign pontiff. This was the moſt eſſential part of her religion; in other reſpects, ſhe was indifferent enough as to tenets, of a complying eaſy temper, which could aſſume any form ſhe pleaſed. She was haughty or obliging, juſt as ſuited her intereſt, and, tho' ſcarce thirteen years old, ſhe already diſcovered a glimpſe of that capacity, which became afterwards the admiration of all Europe. The king her father unhappily ended his days in the ſchiſm which he had occaſioned, and was no leſs an enemy to the holy ſee than to the proteſtants; and this prince, who raſhly employed himſelf in reforming religion, died in a miſerable uncertainty of the true one.

HIS death occaſioned new troubles in England. The real catholics longed to ſee an end of the ſchiſm; but they were the weaker party. A multitude of proteſtants, who had hitherto been reſtrained from declar-

ing themselves for fear of persecution, threw off the mask, and overspread the court, the metropolis, and the counties of the kingdom. Several bishops also declared openly in favour of this new opinion; and, in order to establish it on a lasting foundation, they brought up the young king in the principles of the protestants. The protector, the officers of his household, and his preceptors, in their discourses with him, treated the holiest of our mysteries as downright idolatry.

THE prince breathed, as it were, nothing but an infected air: they prepossessed and misled his reason, at an age when he could not judge clearly for himself: so that he embraced the protestant doctrine which they were continually representing to him as more agreeable to the gospel; and he was so unhappy as to persist in it, with a confidence that ought to be inspired by truth only.

THE parliament made new laws to authorise this change: the mass was abolished, the images removed out of the churches, and the holy scriptures unfaithfully translated, and so as to favour the prevailing opinions. Divine service was said in the vulgar tongue; the clergy were allowed to marry; and, what the greedy courtier had most at heart, such church-lands as were left, became a prey to a set of men, all whose religion consisted in ruining religion itself.

THUS England from schism was plunged into heresy. Such catholic bishops as were left in the kingdom exerted themselves in vain, in order to inspire the people of their dioceses with a just horror for those innovations. The clergy was despised; the schism had broke that so necessary union with the holy see, the center of religion: not but that several English bishops at that time were men of learning, and unblameable in their lives and conversations; but though they were against these innovations, they yet, either from the hopes they had of being made bishops, or to get other preferments, had been weak enough to own the pretended supremacy of Henry VIII.: besides, some of them, in spite of their conviction of mind, had been so weak

as

as to write in favour of that prince's ſeparation from the ſee of Rome. In vain did they endeavour, after his death, to ſtop the progreſs of the reformation: their zeal was imputed to them as a crime, and expoſed them to all the penalties of the acts of parliament. This ſerved them alſo for a pretence to ſtrip them of their rich benefices: ſome were deprived, others impriſoned, and all of them expiated by a long perſecution for the fault they had committed, in having ſeparated, out of complaiſance to the court, from the unity of the church.

THE young king's death, which happened the 6th of July, occaſioned new revolutions in England. This realm was governed at that time by the duke of Northumberland, who was regent or prime miniſter. He was a nobleman of vaſt ambition, who, in order to place his ſon upon the throne in his maſter's ſtead, had married him to lady Jane Grey, a daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and deſcended from Mary of England, ſiſter to Henry VIII. This nobleman, in order to bring this young lady nearer the throne, had, a few days before king Edward's death, put him upon making a will to diſinherit the two princeſſes again, under pretence that they were born of diſputed marriages. This will, in prejudice of their rights, appointed the lady Jane Grey his ſucceſſor to the crown; and the great ſeal being put to it, that young lady, by virtue of this will, was proclaimed queen of England. But though Mary was known to be a very zealous roman catholic, yet the city of London, as well as the country, deteſting afterwards this uſurpation, declared themſelves with ſo much warmth and zeal in her favour, that ſhe became in a few days, without any battle or bloodſhed, miſtreſs of the kingdom, and had the perſons of her enemies in her power.

PROVIDENCE having thus led her, as it were, by the hand to the throne, ſhe thought that ſhe could not better ſhew her gratitude than by employing her firſt cares to the ſettling of religion, and the reconciling her dominions to the church of Rome. For the put-

ting of this great design in execution, it was necessary to repeal all the acts of former parliaments, which had either confirmed the divorce of Henry VIII. the rejecting the pope's supremacy, or had, after his death, employed their authority for the establishing of the reformed religion.

THIS enterprise was attended with great difficulties; most of the bishops, (if intruders deserve the title) the lords and great men of the kingdom, made an open profession of the protestant doctrines; and such as were not infected with those principles adhered nevertheless to the separation from the see of Rome, and would not hear the least mention of the restoring the papal authority. Under these difficulties, the queen's ministers convinced her, that it would be impossible for her to succeed in such a great design, without her being supported by an husband that was a zealous roman catholic, and who had power and credit to go through with her projects.

THERE were no want of pretenders on this occasion; several princes and noblemen, as well English as foreigners, were of the number. Philip of Austria, a young prince, and only son to the emperor Charles V. was one of the candidates; and his father's money had gained him the interest of the queen's chief ministers. Most of the English roman catholics wished the queen's choice would fall upon cardinal Pool, who was only a deacon, or else upon young Courtney her cousin. Pool was descended, by the mother's side, from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and Courtney's grandmother was daughter of the same Edward, and sister to the mother of Henry VIII.

THE English cardinal was in great repute for his wisdom, learning, capacity, and prudence, as well as for the regularity of his life. Courtney distinguished himself by the charms of his person. The queen had a secret inclination for that young nobleman, who inspired it, without any art or design, into those whose hearts were the least susceptible of passion. There was something so noble in his air, and so wonderfully graceful

in

in his carriage, that this princeſs, ſevere as ſhe was, could not help looking on him with a ſecret pleaſure. His preſence alone effaced in a moment all the political reaſonings of her miniſters, who had declared in favour of the emperor's ſon; and it is certain, that in the firſt emotions of a riſing inclination, ſhe would have preferred Courtney before either Pool with all his wiſdom, or Philip of Auſtria with all his power, if that young nobleman had not, by his own extravagance, and the irregularity of his conduct, deſtroyed theſe favourable diſpoſitions. He ſaw the queen's weakneſs for him, and was bold enough to ſhew her that he ſaw it, without making a return; and inſtead of being aſſiduous in making his court to her, he paſſed his time with common ſtrumpets, in an eaſy and ſcandalous courſe of debauchery.

THIS diſſolute way of life was ſucceeded by a paſſion for the princeſs Eliſabeth; he fell deſperately in love with her, and loved her with all the flame and ſincerity of a young man in his firſt paſſion. Several were of opinion, that ſhe loved him; but whatever ſentiments that politic princeſs might diſcover, the event has ſhewn, that they did not ariſe ſo much from love as from ambition, which ſhe artfully managed in order to gain herſelf followers and creatures. Nor is it altogether improbable, but that a motive of vanity, which is common enough in perſons of her age, and the ſecret pleaſure of carrying off a lover from her ſiſter, even from the throne, might have had ſome ſhare in engaging her to ſhew a greater complaiſance to the paſſion of a young nobleman, whom all the ladies of the court ſtrove to pleaſe. Be that as it will, Courtney's affection to the princeſs ſoon became public, and he ſacrificed the queen with as much imprudence as love. She was weak enough to reſent this preference with a jealouſy unſuitable to her age and dignity; and though ſhe had no charms to pleaſe, and was above nineteen years older than her ſiſter, yet ſhe looked upon Courtney's preference as an injuſtice done to herſelf.

ANTHONY

ANTHONY DE NOAILLES reſided at that time at the queen's court, in quality of ambaſſador of Henry II. and had ſucceeded his couſin Claude de Laval de Bois-Dauphin, of the family of Montmorency, in that employment. This miniſter ſaw the approaches of Courtney's diſgrace, even before he himſelf had the leaſt notion of it. He uſed all his endeavours to make him ſenſible of his true intereſt; but he had to do with a young man who was inſenſible to every thing but what flattered his love. The flame and violence of his paſſion hid from him the luſtre of a crown; and in the midſt of the tranſports of his amorous phrenzy, he would have preferred the enjoyment of the princeſs Elizabeth before all the thrones of Chriſtendom.

'TWAS a matter altogether indifferent to France, whether the queen married either him or cardinal Pool: Henry II. had no manner of intereſt in that affair, and all his concern was to oppoſe her marriage with the emperor's ſon. His embaſſador was continually inculcating to the Engliſh nobility, that in caſe this match ſhould take place, their kingdom would be in danger of being made a province of Spain; that the inquiſition would be ſoon eſtabliſhed, and that their parliaments would be quite laid aſide, or at leaſt meet leſs frequently, and ſink at laſt into meer formality and ceremony. The Engliſh, and particularly the proteſtants, were very ſenſible of all the dangers to which they would be expoſed by this alliance. They preſented ſeveral addreſſes and petitions to the queen on this account; and the oppoſition was carried to ſuch a length, that an inſurrection broke out in ſome counties; but the emperor's money, and the dexterity of the queen's miniſters, got the better of all theſe obſtacles. In fine, that princeſs was married to Philip of Auſtria, though an important point was ſtill wanting to complete the emperor's ſatisfaction. He was not ſatisfied that his ſon had married the queen, but he wanted to have him declared king of England, and crowned as ſuch. The ceremony of it, ſo eſſential to the ſovereign authority, could not be performed without the

conſent

conſent of parliament: but it was no eaſy matter to gain over ſuch a body of men, who oftentimes ſhewed more regard to the liberty and intereſt of the nation, than they did deference to the authority of the ſovereign. Thoſe who had ſhewn the greateſt averſion to the queen's marriage, as well as ſuch who had come into it out of complaiſance, united together on this occaſion, when they thought the liberty of their country was in danger. The French embaſſador, without ſtirring from his own houſe, put all the various ſprings of this united party in motion, and at a time when the court was entirely devoted to the Spaniſh intereſt, he found the ſecret to bring the parliament over to that of the French: and it was owing to his activity and management, that Philip miſcarried in his deſign, of getting the regal authority into his hands, and was forced to take up with being conſort to a queen, who was much older than himſelf, and had nothing agreeable in her perſon. July 25. 1554.

That princeſs, however, gained conſiderable advantages by this alliance: the emperor, a prince of formidable power, concerning himſelf in the queen's affairs, enabled her to put all her deſigns in execution; ſo that by conſent of parliament, proteſtantiſm was aboliſhed, and the roman catholic worſhip reſtored. Pool afterwards reconciled the kingdom to the ſee of Rome, being authoriſed for that purpoſe in quality of legate to pope Julius III. but not daring to inſiſt either on the doing penance for the ſeparation, or the making reſtitution of the church and abbey lands, he was at firſt forced to wave all reſtrictions, and grant entire abſolution of faults, which it would have been dangerous to attempt to puniſh. Haughty as the manner of this ſatisfaction was, they thought fit to take up with it; and the Engliſh received the favours of the holy ſee, with an indifference that plainly ſhewed the generality of the nation did not deſire them.

THE project of getting the church-lands out of the hands of the proteſtants that enjoyed them, was put off to a more favourable juncture. The queen, by Pool's advice,

advice, in order to ſet her ſubjects an example of ſuch a reſtitution, declared, that her conſcience would not allow her to keep any of them any longer in her hands; in conſequence of which, ſhe immediately parted with all the church-lands that the king her father had annexed to the crown, and gave them back to the former proprietors. This was the occaſion of captain Hoſmadan's voyage to Malta. We may eaſily conceive, that this news was very agreeable to the order in general, and to the Engliſh knights in particular. The grand maſter and the council wrote about it to the queen, to thank her for the juſtice ſhe had done their order; and the commander de Montferrat was ſent into England, to carry on this great affair in concert with the miniſtry. The order, upon his arrival, were put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates without any trouble, and the commander, by virtue of the authority he had received from the grand maſter and council, and as a teſtimony of their gratitude to the queen, conferred the priory of St. John, and the dignity of great croſs, upon Sir Richard Sceley, an Engliſh gentleman, who was one of her greateſt favourites, and had a conſiderable ſhare in this negotiation. Upon his account likewiſe, his brother Sir James Sceley got another commandry: that of Munigton was given to Sir Oliver Starkey, that they might in his perſon do honour to polite learning, and the ſciences of which he was maſter; and, at the emperor's recommendation, who, ever ſince his ſon's marriage, had had a great ſway in the councils of England, the title of bailiff de l'Aigle was given to the commander Fuſter, a native of Majorca, and knight of the language of Arragon, whom we had occaſion to mention in the foregoing book, in the account we gave of the loſs of Tripoli, and the proſecution of the commander Vallier grand-marſhal of the order.

THE grand maſter d'Omedes did not live to ſee this important affair entirely perfected. He died the year before, in the beginning of September. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf

Sept. 6. 1553.

himſelf by his valour at the ſiege of Rhodes, was religious, and affected a great air of regularity and devotion, but was withal of an imperious and revengeful nature. He was covetous, and ſo bent to inrich his family, that he almoſt ruined the order by the grants he made in his lifetime to his relations, in contempt of the laws and ſtatutes of the ſociety. What he left behind him was ſo very inconſiderable, that ſeveral knights, out of indignation to ſee that he had alienated his principal effects, and diſpoſed of them to his nephews, propoſed, to have the care of his funeral left to them; but the lords of the council rejected this propoſal as unbecoming the generoſity and grandeur of the order. He was buried, as uſual, at the expence of the order, and with a magnificence that was rather ſuited to his dignity than his perſonal merit.

A few days after his deceaſe the chapter met to chuſe him a ſucceſſor; and the prior of Capua ſeemed to ſtand faireſt to be elected. It had for a long time been the object of his wiſhes; and, in order to carry his point, he had gained ſeveral of the electors, who, when they met in the chapter, did not fail to ſet forth his courage, his valour, his great skill in military affairs and experience in command, with great elogiums. But Vagion, or Gagnon, the great conſervator, and one of the principal electors, riſing up, ſpoke as follows to the reſt of the committee: "If, ſays he, in "the choice we are obliged to make, we were only "to chuſe a great general, I don't think we could in "juſtice refuſe giving our votes for the prior of Capua: "but our preſent buſineſs is not barely to pitch upon "an head full of valour, but on one who may be a com-"mon father to our whole body, one who may be "void of all ſpirit of party, who ſhall be equally in-"duſtrious to procure us the favour of all the princes "of Chriſtendom, and, above all things, to take care not "to engage the order in their diſputes: and this is "what I dare not hope from the prior of Capua. You "know, ſays he, his paſſion for the liberty of his "country, a paſſion to which Philip Strozzi his father

fell

" fell the firſt victim; if we ſhould put him at our " head, when he ſees himſelf maſter of our ſhips and " gallies, ought we not to apprehend that he will find " out ſome pretence or other, to turn all the forces of " the order againſt the houſe of Medicis; and that, " with a view of revenging his father's death, he will " fall upon their fleets, and deſtroy all the coaſt of " Tuſcany with fire and ſword? In conſequence of " which, the emperor, who conſiders the fortune and " grandeur of Medicis as the work of his own " hands, will not fail to make us anſwerable for all " the enterpriſes of the grand maſter. Coſmo, too, " the head of that family, a prince of excellent capa- " city, will eaſily find out a way to revenge himſelf, " and, in order to make a diverſion, will raiſe us up " enemies among the potentates of Italy his allies: " nor is it improbable but that this new ſovereign, who " is looked upon to be the greateſt politician of his " age, and has correſpondents and agents even in Con- " ſtantinople, may bring all the forces of the grand " ſeignior upon Malta: and if we ſhould once make " ourſelves ſuſpected and odious to the emperor, who " is in poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, " from whence could we, in caſe we ſhould be be- " ſieged, expect any ſuccours againſt the infidels?"

THIS ſpeech of the elector, which love only, and a ſincere attachment to the good of the order, had inſpired, made a great impreſſion on the reſt of the committee. The commanders Paſcatore and Bernardin Parpaille ſpoke with great force in favour of theſe reflections; and even ſuch as had ſecretly engaged themſelves to the prior of Capua, and had firſt declared in his favour, came over to Vagion's opinion: they all exhorted each other mutually, and agreed to have no regard to any thing in the election they were going to make, *but the good of the order.* They per-

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE. ſiſted vigorouſly in this laudable reſolution; in conſequence of which, brother CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE, a knight of the language of France, and grand hoſpitaller, was unanimouſly

unanimouſly elected their grand maſter. They chuſe him during his abſence, and at a time when he was actually reſiding at Rome as embaſſador of the order to the pope; which is a manifeſt proof that there was no cabal, nor any party-intereſt in his election, and that the committee which made it had acted only from a principle of juſtice, and according to the dictates of their conſcience. As ſoon as the news of his election came to Rome, the pope gave particular orders to the governor of the caſtle of St. Angelo, to proclaim it by the fire of all his artillery. A kind of public feſtival was kept in Rome on this occaſion: moſt of the cardinals, the embaſſadors, the principal prelates of the court, and the barons of Rome made their viſits, and complimented the grand maſter in form. The pope ſent his chamberlain to congratulate him on his new dignity: and when he came to the palace to take the uſual oath of obedience, his holineſs made him dine with him in public, and paid him all the honours that were due to his merit and dignity.

THE grand maſter, as ſoon as he had paſſed through the ceremonial, and had made the viſits he was obliged to pay, prepared to ſet out for Malta. The gallies of the order, commanded by the prior of Capua, came to take him on board at Terracina, when they carried him to Sicily, and he entered the Faro di Meſſina on the 12th of December. Don John de Vega, viceroy of the iſland, was waiting for him in that city with great impatience. They were both of them at the ſiege and taking of Mehedia, as was obſerved in the eleventh book; ever ſince which time they had formed an intimacy, or rather a kind of correſpondence between them, which was more polite than ſincere. The Spaniard, who made pompous demonſtrations as a proof of the ſatisfaction which his promotion gave him, deſigned to give him public teſtimonies of it, both at his entry into Meſſina, and during his ſtay there. However, that he might not be ſo profuſe of the honours he intended to pay him, as to derogate in the leaſt from his own dignity, he appointed ſome of

the ableſt lawyers to examine into the rights and privileges of the grand maſters, and the rank that was due to them. Oliveti, the king's advocate at Meſſina, quoted to him, on this occaſion, a paſſage from Chaſſanæ*, a famous lawyer, who in his treatiſe of *The glory of the world*, ſpeaking of eccleſiaſtical dignities, gives that of grand maſter the preference, before even the dignity of cardinal. The viceroy, ſtrengthned by this authority, had, before the grand maſter's arrival, ſent an expreſs to the emperor, to deſire his orders in relation to the conduct he ſhould obſerve towards him. That prince let him know, by a nobleman of his court, whoſe name was d'Acunha, that he need not be afraid of exceeding in the honours he was to pay to the head of an order, which ſerved as a bulwark to his dominions in Italy. But as the emperor never took one ſingle ſtep without ſome ſecret views of intereſt, he had directed his envoy to make ſome propoſals in his name to the grand maſter, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this work.

THE viceroy being thus informed of the emperor's intentions, went up, at the head of the council, and the body of the gentry and magiſtrates of the city, to the admiral-galley of the order, to wait on the grand maſter on board his own ſhip; and, in order to do him more honour at their going out of it, he would needs walk alone immediately before the grand maſter, as he would have done before his own ſovereign. This prince made his entry afterwards into Meſſina under the fire of the artillery, and with the garriſon and townſmen under arms: he was lodged in the fineſt palace

* Crederem quod iſte magnus magiſter Rhodi poſt papam præcedere deberet omnes patriarchas, cardinales, & alios pontifices eccleſiaſticos; & cum videatur tantæ eſſe dignitatis cujus eſt patriarcha, quod poſt imperatorem, & alios principes, habentes jura imperii, ut ſunt reges Franciæ & Hiſpaniæ, quod præcederet omnes principes recognoſcentes ſuperiorem, & non habentes jura imperii, puta reges ſubditos imperio, & quoſcunque duces; habet enim ſub ſe magnos principes, & eſt maxime honoratus.

lace of the city, and was received and ſerved in that place, both at chapel and at his table, with the ſame honours as had been formerly paid to the antient kings of Sicily.

THE emperor's envoy, who was entruſted with his orders, congratulated him, in his maſter's name, on his new dignity; and in a private audience, which he had of him a few days after, he acquainted him with his inſtructions, and the propoſals he had been ordered to make to him. The emperor's generals, as has been already obſerved, had, with the aſſiſtance of the knights of Malta, beſieged and taken the town of Mehedia or Africa from Dragut the Corſair. But as this conqueſt lay at a great diſtance from the other dominions of the emperor, and that he was obliged to be at a vaſt expence in maintaining a large garriſon in that place, his deſign was to engage the grand maſter to tranſport the whole convent thither, and to make it their ſettled habitation. He was more in hopes that the whole order, upon this new ſettlement, would intereſt itſelf in the defence of the fort of Goletta, and be a formidable ſupport to his authority in the kingdom of Tunis, which was at that time a fief of the crown of Caſtile.

THE envoy, in order to bring this project to bear, had, in the audience which the grand maſter had granted him, aſſured him, that the emperor was ſenſibly affected with the loſs that the order had ſuſtained by the taking of Tripoli by the infidels; and that, in order to repair it, he was ready to give them the abſolute property of that of Mehedia; a place, as he ſaid, regularly fortified, and from whence the knights might extend their dominion by new conqueſts upon the continent of Africa; that as the taking of this place was owing to their valour, and that he himſelf had had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it, in caſe the order ſhould remove its reſidence thither, he would juſtly be looked upon as the founder of this ſecond Rhodes; and that by way of contribution to the expences neceſſary for the defence of the place, the emperor, who

always considered the interests of the order as his own, would assign them an annual pension of 72,000 livres, upon the revenues of Sicily, for ever.

THE grand master answered him, with great politeness, that he found on this occasion a fresh instance of the favours and the benevolence which his imperial majesty had constantly bestowed upon the order: but, that he might not engage himself unadvisedly in the affair, he told him, that he had no power to accept a proposal of such consequence, without the consent of the council: however, that if he would go along with him to Malta, the affair should be debated there in his presence, when he should see the sincere desire he had of obliging the emperor in all his demands.

THE grand master, attended with this embassador, and a strong guard of Italian knights, went on board the gallies of the order, and, doubling cape Passaro, arrived safe in the channel of Malta, and landed in the road of St. Paul. As he drew near the Notable city, which was at that time the capital of that island, they proposed to him to enter into it: but as his election to the grand mastership gave him authority over the knights only, it was necessary for him to have a particular grant from the complete council, before he could exercise any over the inhabitants and subjects of the order; for which reason, he put off his entry into that city till another time. The council soon passed the acts which were necessary for the establishing of his authority over the whole island; and he was in a few days proclaimed prince of Malta and Goza with great solemnity.

HIS first care, after he had taken possession of his dignity, was to give audience to the emperor's embassador. This ceremony was performed in full council. The grand master, in order to honour the emperor in the person of his minister, advanced some steps to meet him, made him sit down by his chair, and desired him to acquaint the house with the subject of his commission. D'Acunha presented his credentials; and, after the reading thereof, he represented to the council

the

great affection which the emperor bore the order; that after the taking of Rhodes, when he ſaw them abandoned by moſt of the Chriſtian princes, and wandering up and down the various provinces of Italy, he could not help being touched with their deplorable circumſtances; upon which he generouſly parted with the iſles of Malta and Goza, to gratify the knights; a noble preſent, ſays he, and worthy the piety of that great prince: that their loſs of Tripoli had given him new concern; he therefore, out of a deſire he had of repairing the damage they had ſuſtained, had ſent him on purpoſe to make them an offer of the town of Africa, or Mehedia, a place ſituated on the coaſt of Barbary, ſtrongly fortified, and which lay very convenient for the enlarging their conqueſts on the continent. He went on to obſerve, that as the ſoil of Malta was barren, and incapable of bearing corn, the order was forced to be ſending continually beyond ſea to diſtant countries, to fetch it from thoſe places for their ſubſiſtence; whereas, in the territory about Africa, they would meet with very fruitful tracts of land, which abounded with all kinds of corn. He concluded his diſcourſe, with intreating the knights to conſider, that the iſland of Malta was in want of fortified places, and that in caſe the grand ſeignior ſhould ſend a fleet and an army to make a deſcent, and lay ſiege to the principal fortreſs, as the order had reaſon to fear; they would certainly, in ſpite of all their valour, be forced to ſubmit to the ſame unhappy fate which had attended them at Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, after thanking the emperor for the continuation of his favours, aſked the aſſembly what was their opinion of the propoſal: theſe, before they came to a final determination in the affair, reſolved unanimouſly to ſend eight old commanders to Africa, to take a view of the ſituation of the place, the ſtrength and the extent of the territory about it. Theſe commiſſioners ſet out immediately; and upon their return, reported to the council, that the place was built upon a neck of land that jutted out into the ſea, which ſur-

rounded it on three sides; that it was of a large extent, and was very considerable on account of the great number of houses in it, and the strength of its fortifications; that the town and castle were surrounded with very high walls, of an extraordinary thickness, and flanked with towers well provided with artillery; that there was an arsenal in it stored with a great number of cannon; that nothing was wanting but a good harbour for the security of great ships; that the outworks of the place, and the adjacent rising grounds, were beautified with an agreeable variety of country seats, orchards and vineyards, and that all the arable ground in the territory terminated in a mountain which crosses it from east to west, and that behind it they had a prospect of vast plains and pasture grounds belonging to the Arabs of the country, which was generally covered with their flocks and herds of cattle that were grazing there.

THE commissioners declared further, that a place of such vast extent could never be maintained without keeping a large garrison constantly in it, to defend it against the princes and people of Africa, who would never suffer the order to settle quietly so near their dominions; so that they must expect to be daily fighting with the Arabs, who made incursions up to the very gates of the city: that in case of a siege they could have no room to hope for any speedy succour, considering its great distance from Europe: that it was neither agreeable to the design of their institution, nor consistent with the good of Christendom, to abandon, as it were, the sea, and the defence of all Christian ships, to make war within land, and encroach upon the frontiers of their neighbours; whereas their predecessors, though much more powerful than they were, had never attempted to enlarge their territories by conquests, which generally clash with justice; and that since that of Rhodes, which they had taken from the corsairs, the order had never employed its forces, but for the assistance of Christian princes, or for the security and defence of such private persons as frequented the Mediterranean. This report, made by old experienced

enced officers, and knights full of the warmeſt zeal for the diſcipline of their order, determined the council to continue at Malta. The conſiderations which chiefly prevailed upon them to take this reſolution were, the diſtance of the place from Europe, the difficulty of the paſſage thither, and the reluctance which the princes and nobility of Chriſtendom would probably have, to ſee their children, upon their being admitted into the order, confined, as it were, in the deſerts of Africa. Upon which, the order diſpatched two deputies to the emperor, and prevailed with him to approve of their conduct; notwithſtanding which, the viceroy of Sicily ſtill reſented it, and, by way of revenge, prohibited the exportation of the corn with which the convent was uſually ſupplied from that iſland. But in order to pacify him, the grand maſter and council having advice that its coaſts were infeſted by a great number of corſairs, who had appeared before Palermo, ſent five gallies thither well provided, under the command of the prior of Capua. Strozzi prepared to ſet ſail immediately, conſidering himſelf at ſea as in his own element; but he was moreover puſhed on by another circumſtance, which was, that he found he was looked upon with a leſs favourable eye at Malta, ever ſince the death of the conſervator Gagnon, and the commanders Paſcatore and Bernardin; Parpaille, one of his principal domeſtics, and who had the greateſt ſhare of his confidence, being ſuſpected of having poiſoned them all three, out of revenge for their having thrown out his maſter at the laſt election. This made him depart in a good deal of hurry.

HE was ſcarce arrived at Palermo when he received private letters from Peter Strozzi his eldeſt brother, giving him advice of his being entruſted with the command of the French army in Italy, and of his being deſired by the king of France to ſolicit him to reſume, at the ſame time, his former employment of the general of his gallies. He urged further, that they could never meet with a more favourable opportunity for revenging their father's death; that they might act in

concert

oncert by sea and land; for which reason, he begged him to sacrifice his private resentments against the ministers of France, to the love and liberty of their country. Notwithstanding the disgust which the prior had entertained against the court of France, it yet was overruled by the pressing instances which his brother made, and gave way to the violent hatred he retained in his heart against Cosmo de Medicis. He made no other answer to his brother, than that he would be with him soon. The difficulty was to get out of the port of Palermo without giving the viceroy any jealousy, or affording him any reason to guess at his design.

WHETHER it were, that the king of Spain had been informed by his Spies, that the command of the gallies of France was designed for the prior; or that he only surmised, upon seeing his brother going to command in Italy, that he would not fail to use all his endeavours to engage the prior on the same side, this prince had sent private orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to keep a strict watch over the prior, in case he came into any port of the island, and to seize him upon the least token he should discover of any intelligence that was between the two brothers. He was but just arrived at Palermo, when he discovered, (through the thick disguise of civilities which the viceroy affected to shew him,) an air of uneasiness, that convinced him he was observed and suspected by him; in order therefore to get out of his hands, he sent out one of his officers, in whom he most confided, very early in the morning, in a light brigantine, under pretence of going to look out along the coasts of the island, with orders to return after he had been some hours at sea; and without bringing his brigantine into the harbour, to come directly to the viceroy's, and tell him, in his presence, however he might find him, that he had descried three Moorish galliots in a safe road not far off. The prior, after he had dismissed the officer, waited upon the viceroy in his palace, where he was to dine; and before they sat down to table, all the subject of his discourse,

ran

ran upon the ill offices he had received from the conſtable de Montmorency, as well as of the dangerous deſigns which that French nobleman had, as he ſaid, formed againſt his life, and the paſſionate deſire he had to be revenged of him, if ever he found an opportunity: and in order to juſtify his reſentments, ſhewed him ſeveral letters which he had received out of France, wherein ſome of his friends, who were not let into the ſecret of the king's intentions, gave him advice not to put into any port of that kingdom, if he were not deſirous of being arreſted.

THIS ſeeming confidence impoſed upon the viceroy, who gave into the ſnare, and, with a view of getting him into the emperor his maſter's ſervice, exaggerated the ingratitude of the French; and aſſured him, that whenever he ſhould quit the command of the gallies of the order, he would find, at the court of Spain, employments worthy his birth and valour. They were now ſet down at table, when, in the middle of the entertainment, the officer whom the prior had ſent to ſea, came into the room, and told him in a great hurry, that he had diſcovered ſome galliots of corſairs in a creek, and that provided he made haſte, they might eaſily be ſurpriſed. The prior roſe up ſuddenly with a ſpecious air of ſatisfaction, and turning to the viceroy, "I'll give you a good account of them, ſays "he to him, and hope to bring them into you before "you riſe from table."

THE gallies under his command being all ready, he ſailed out of the harbour and put to ſea, keeping off from the coaſt; and as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tacked about and ſtood for Malta, where he landed without any obſtacle. Upon his return, he reſigned the generalſhip of the gallies, which perhaps might have been owing to his having been, ever ſince the death of the conſervator and the two commanders, become ſuſpected and odious to their relations and friends; and the commander Parriſot de la Valette was appointed to ſucceed him. The prior having laid down that employment, gave out that he would go try his fortune

in

in cruising with his own two gallies, and a third which belonged to his brother; and that he was resolved to make war on his own account, upon all the corsairs he should meet with. Several young knights of all nations offered themselves to follow him, engaged to it by his reputation; which was so great, that all young people in general were for learning the arts of navigation under so excellent a captain. He received such as offered themselves on board his gallies, and immediately sailed out of the port; but when he came off of Goza, he acquainted them with his design, telling them, that he was going to command the French army; but that if any of them, from any just reason, might not think it proper to accompany him in that expedition, he then was ready to give them boats to carry them back to Malta. Some Spanish and Italian knights left him, as being subjects of the king of Spain; the rest, who were bound by no such considerations, resolved to follow his fortune, and he never failed to find soldiers, wherever there were men, whose minds were susceptible of that glory which is to be acquired by arms.

HE afterwards stood away for the coast of Tuscany, and landed at Portercole. The French were in possession of it, and the duke de Somme, who commanded for them in Grosseto, came to join him with a body of infantry. The gallies of Provence were ordered to the same place, to act under his command. Whilst the prior was waiting for their coming up, he, in order not to let his men lie idle, formed a design to seize on a small place in the neighbourhood called *Scarlino*, lying within the territory of Piombino, and would needs, as was his usual custom, go and reconnoitre it himself; but he approached so near, that a peasant, who lay snug among some rushes, knowing him by the tallness of his stature, and by the boldness of his coming on, fired at him, and wounded him with a musket-ball in the side: he was immediately carried on board his gallies, and the next day to Castillon de Piscaya, where he died a few days afterwards. He was a nobleman whom we

may

may juſtly rank among the greateſt captains of his order; and his very enemies gave out, that, had he been only leſs haughty, he would juſtly have deſerved to have been raiſed to that rank, which he well merited by his uncommon valour. His great ſpirit indeed would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the authority of men, whom he looked upon as the mere creatures of fortune and favour. He was buried in the great church of Portercole; and the duke of Florence recovering that place the year following, the general of his troops had inhumanity enough to dig up his body and throw it into the ſea: a ſcandalous kind of vengeance, that redounded as much to the prior's glory, as to the reproach of ſo mean-ſpirited an enemy.

LA VALETTE, the new general of the gallies of Malta, put to ſea as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of his poſt, and in a little time grew terrible to the corſairs of Barbary, whom he drove away from the coaſts of Sicily and Naples, having taken ſeveral of them, and returned into the ports of the iſland with a good number of prizes. The richeſt commanders, encouraged by this ſucceſs, fitted out privateers for cruiſing, and the private knights engaged themſelves in theſe private armaments, according as their intereſt or inclinations led them. The continual war which the order made upon the infidels, the frequent ravages upon their coaſts, the taking of ſuch numbers of corſairs and merchant ſhips, and the ſecurity which their ſuccours gave to the commerce of the chriſtians, drew upon them the reſentment of the grand ſeignior; and a report was ſpread abroad, that Solyman intended to attack them in Malta, and had boaſted that he would drive them out of that iſland, as he had done about forty years before from that of Rhodes. But ſome expeditions which he made into Aſia, and the civil wars that roſe up in his lifetime between his children, diverted his arms for ſome time another way. The grand maſter, however, in order to prevent a ſurpriſe, ordered the new general of the gallies, to put to ſea again, and get up all the corn and warlike ſtores he could meet with in the

ports

ports of Sicily, and along the coasts of Italy: with these he filled the public magazines; and we are also told, that the general scoured the sea up to the very mouth of the Nile, and carried off from thence three ships laden with corn for Constantinople and Egypt.

WHILST the general, and other privateers, were thus bringing prizes and provisions into the island of Malta, the grand master was employed in adding new fortifications to the fort of St. Elmo, to the isle of St. Michael, and the town, the ordinary residence of the convent. He sunk and widened the ditches, and ordered a spur or counterfort to be raised to strengthen the fort of St. Elmo; but the greatest expence he was at, and which indeed appeared the most necessary, was that which was laid out upon the isle of St. Michael. This narrow piece of land, which run out into the sea, was open on all sides, and had only a little castle for its defence. The grand master built thick walls about that part of the castle which lies over against the rock of Corradin, fortifying them with bulwarks, and bastions, with proper flanks in several places, and brought the sea water into the ditch, and raised all these fortifications with his own money, he being a man who had never given into any expence, but what contributed to the security and defence of the place. By way, therefore, of acknowledgement for his great disinterestedness, and for the benefits which thereby accrued to the order, the knights gave his name to that peninsula, which was before called the isle of St. Michael, but which went ever after by the name of the isle de la Sangle.

BY his generous cares, and the valour of the knights, Malta grew every day more flourishing; when, upon the 23d of September, this general prosperity was suddenly interrupted by an unexpected accident. There arose in the harbour, about seven o'clock in the evening, a terrible hurricane, such as the seamen call a *gust of wind*, or *whirlwind*, and the modern Greeks *Syphon*. This storm, which was occasioned by the violence

lence and ſhock of ſeveral contrary winds that met together, ſwelled the waves, ſunk ſeveral veſſels, drove others aſhore, ſhattered the brigantines and galliots to pieces; and, what was ſtill more deplorable, turned four gallies upſide-down, with their keels in the air, ſo that moſt of the officers, the ſoldiers, and the crew, were either drowned, or cruſhed to pieces by the weight of the veſſels. The houſes next the port were, in a moment, ſwallowed up, together with their inhabitants; the caſtle of St. Angelo itſelf trembled and ſhook; the great piece of wood, to which the ſtandard of the order was fixed, was torn up, and carried half a mile off. The violence of the wind, the torrents of rain that fell from the ſky, and the waves of the ſea, which appeared either ſwelled into mountains, or loſt in devouring gulphs, ſeemed to threaten Malta with utter deſtruction; when, in leſs than half an hour, this dreadful ſtorm ceaſed as ſuddenly as it had riſen, and calm and fair weather appeared at once; ſo that had it not been for the diſmal havock of the houſes which were blown down, and of the ſhips that had loſt their maſts, and were daſhed to pieces, one could ſcarcely have believed, that the port, which was then ſo quiet, had been, but a moment before, the theatre of ſuch a dreadful revolution.

THE grand maſter no ſooner heard of it but he immediately repaired thither, with moſt of the knights of the convent; and though the ſtorm ſtill continued, he did all that lay in his power to aſſiſt ſuch as could not ſwim, and to take up the floating bodies of thoſe who were drowned; but as the night was coming on, they were obliged to wait till the next day, in order to raiſe up the gallies, and ſet them afloat. The return of day light ſhewed them this diſmal ſpectacle in all its horror: above ſix hundred perſons, knights, officers, ſoldiers, and ſlaves, were either drowned or cruſhed to pieces by the overturning of the gallies; and they found in the ſoldiers pockets the money which they had received for their pay the day before. The grand maſter hearing a noiſe that came from a galley that was

overturned, ordered a hole to be made in it, and ſome planks to be taken away; the firſt thing that appeared was a monkey, who immediately leaped out; then they drew out the chevalier de l'Eſcut, who was afterwards ſo famous under the name of Romegas, and ſeveral other knights, who had been all night up to the chin in water, clinging to the bottom of the keel with their hands, where they had ſcarce air enough to breathe. They were taken out of this diſmal place, when they found them pale and benumbed with cold, and rather dead than alive, moſt of them fainting away as ſoon as they were expoſed to the open air. All poſſible care was uſed for their relief; and as ſoon as they came to themſelves, they went immediately to the next church to return thanks to God for their preſervation. The grand maſter ſet to work immediately about raiſing up and refitting the gallies; they found that the largeſt of them was entirely ruined, and that it would be impoſſible ever to make it fit for ſervice again; the reſt were repaired, but at a vaſt expence. The treaſury furniſhed all the galley ſlaves they had; and, to make up their complement, ſeveral peaſants of the iſland offered themſelves voluntarily to ſerve as rowers on board: ſome Chriſtian princes, and all the commanders who had money and credit, exerted themſelves in a ſuitable manner to repair ſo conſiderable a loſs. The grand maſter, in order to ſet them an example, built a galley at his own expence in the port of Meſſina; and the pope, who was greatly concerned at this terrible diſaſter, generouſly ſupplied it with a crew of ſlaves taken out of his priſons, and criminals who had been condemned by the ſecular arm.

PHILIP II. king of Spain, conſidering Malta as the bulwark of Sicily and his Italian dominions, made the order a preſent of two gallies well provided. Philip du Broc, an old knight of the language of Provence, and prior of St. Gilles, gave the order a great gallion, which the commander Paſchal du Broc, his nephew, carried to Malta, laden with ammunition and proviſions, with a good number of ſoldiers on board, and com-

completely fitted out for the ſea ſervice. Francis de Lorrain, grand prior of France, arrived about the ſame time in the harbour with two gallies, who, out of zeal for his order, was come to offer his ſervice to the grand maſter. This young prince heightned afterwards, on ſeveral occaſions, the reputation of valour, which ſeems to be hereditary in his illuſtrious family. The order, by reaſon of the prodigious loſs it had ſuſtained, ſtood in great want of theſe ſeveral ſuccours; and the rather, becauſe the corſairs of Barbary, in hopes of making their advantage of this diſaſter, infeſted the coaſts of the iſland, and often kept the port in a manner blocked up. Above all, Dragut, that formidable enemy of the order, thinking he ſhould find their forces in diſorder, appeared off Malta with ſeven gallies well ſupplied with land forces, and, putting them on ſhore, ravaged the open country, taking a great number of priſoners; but before he had time to reimbark, the commander Lewis de Laſtic, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marſhal of the order, fell upon him with a body of 300 knights, cut part of the corſairs to pieces, recovered the priſoners and the booty, and forced Dragut to make the beſt of his way to his ſhips. To revenge the inſult, the prince of Lorrain immediately put out to ſea with his own gallies, and two others belonging to the order, ſcoured all the coaſt of Barbary in his turn, came up with a brigantine of Aſſanbaly's, a famous corſair, between Malta and Tripoli, which he took; gave chaſe to Uluchialy; took from him a galley and galiot; and, before he returned back to the harbour of Malta, made prizes of two other veſſels, laden with ſalt and various kinds of merchandize.

By the valour of this prince, and the reſolution of their privateers, the order had recovered the ſame ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas, which it had enjoyed before the fury of the hurricane had been felt at Malta, when there happened a new accident, which cauſed a great diſturbance, and gave riſe to very unhappy diſſentions in the ſociety. In order to give the reader a right

notion of this dispute, in which the pope and the greatest princes of Europe interested themselves, 'twill be necessary to observe, that upon the prior of Capua's death, seignior Strozzi his brother had taken possession of his gallies as his own property, of which one indeed had always belonged to him; but as he was at the head of a land army, he could not command his gallies in person, and had therefore joined them to some French gallies that were in the port of Civita-Vecchia, under the command of the chevalier Sforza, prior of Lombardy, and brother to the cardinal of that name, high chamberlain to the pope. The king and Strozzi imagined that their gallies were very safe in that place; but the prior of Lombardy having quitted the French service at that time, to enter into that of Spain, in order to make himself more considerable in the new party in which he had engaged himself, he took his measures so well, in concert with the high chamberlain, whose dignity gave him a great authority in all the territories of the church, that he carried off two of the king's gallies, and brought them into the port of Naples; and, by his sollicitations, and a like act of treachery, one Moret de Nissard, a native of Piedmont, seized on one of Strozzi's gallies, and retired with it into the harbour of Villa-Franca, where the duke of Savoy gave him his protection, and allowed him to set up his flag.

SUCH a notorious robbery, in breach of his oath, was a great blemish to the prior of Lombardy's honour, and raised the anger and resentment of the pope. Paul IV. was at that time in the papal chair, and had the government of the church in his hands, but was himself governed by one of his nephews, a knight of Malta, whom, upon his accession to the popedom, he had dignified with the Roman purple by the name of cardinal Caraffa. The uncle and nephew were actually at that very time negotiating a league with France against Spain; so that besides the violation of the sovereignty of the church by this outrage, it was their interest to persuade the king that they had no hand in it.

it. In order to this, they arreſted cardinal Sforza, whom they threw into a loathſome priſon, and threatned to put him to death, in caſe the French king's gallies were not immediately ſent back to the port, from whence they had been carried off in ſo clandeſtine a manner. The prior, who knew the cardinal nephew's violent temper, ſent them back immediately; and was forced, in order to procure his brother's liberty, to give 200,000 crowns ſecurity, that he ſhould not ſtir out of Rome without the privity of the pope and his nephew. But they found it a more difficult matter to get back Strozzi's galley, which Moret had carried into the port of Villa-Franca; for, in order to elude the complaints and inſtances of the pope, the duke of Savoy ſent it into the Levant, with his own flag, and a commiſſion under his great ſeal. Cardinal Caraffa and Strozzi, thirſting to take revenge for ſo treacherous an action, no ſooner heard of Moret's being at ſea but they ſent another galley after him, under the command of a French captain, called Fouroux, an excellent ſea officer, devoted to the family of Strozzi; recommending to him at the ſame time, to employ cunning as well as valour, in order to recover the galley out of his hands. Fouroux, the better to conceal the deſign of his voyage, went firſt to Malta, where he obtained the grand maſter's leave to go a cruiſing in concert with his gallies, and under the flag of the order; upon which he ſailed out of the harbour, in company with the admiral galley, and had not been long at ſea, before he met the galley he was in queſt of. Moret, who commanded her, taking the galley where Fouroux was on board for the admiral of the order, ſaluted her, got into his long boat, and went on board her, in order to talk with the general: but how great was his ſurpriſe, when he found himſelf in the power of one of Strozzi's officers! He was immediately arreſted, and put in irons; and Fouroux afterwards coming up with his galley, as if he had brought 1557.
back the captain, the officers and ſoldiers, not miſtruſting any thing, ſuffered him to approach; ſo that he

entered the galley, and made himself master of it, before they were so much as sensible that they had received their enemy on board.

THE general of the gallies of Malta, highly incensed to see the flag of the order made use of to surprise the galley of a Christian prince, threatned to fight Fouroux, in case he did not release her immediately, and set Moret at liberty: but Fouroux shewing him positive orders for that purpose from the king, and an express commission from the pope, the first superior of the order, he did not think fit to take upon him to determine so critical an affair; but having made Fouroux agree to follow him with his prize to Malta, they came a few days after before the port. The French captain immediately sent his commissions to the grand prior of France, and drew up a memorial, in which he gave him a particular account of the trick that Moret had played seignior Strozzi. The prince of Lorrain, having laid them before the grand master, obtained leave for Fouroux to enter the harbour with his own galley and his prize. These two gallies being entered into the port, captain Moret applied himself to the knights of Savoy and Piedmont, making bitter complaints that the flag of the order had been made use of to surprise a galley which belonged to their sovereign, and that only out of resentment at his alliance with Spain. These knights immediately presented a petition to the council, in his name, and the viceroy of Sicily used all his credit to support it. They likeways procured some merchants of Ragusa, and of the isle of Scio, to demand the cargo found on board Moret's galley, as being their property; and the officers of the treasury put in their claim for the galley, as being part of the prior of Capua's personal estate, to which the order had a right to succeed. These different interests and pretensions caused grievous divisions in the convent, every one siding with his own language and nation. The council, whose views and actions ever tended to the common good of the order, could not help blaming the grand master for having suffered the two gallies in dispute

pute to enter the harbour without their privity; a ſtep that had involved them in a troubleſome affair, the deciſion of which they could have wiſhed had been wholly left to the princes whom it concerned. However; as there was no recalling what had paſſed, and that the two captains had each of them a ſtrong party in Malta, the council appointed commiſſioners to examine into the claims and pretenſions of both. Moret complained of his having been impoſed upon, by the confidence which he had repoſed in the gallies of the order; and that that which belonged to the prince his maſter had been taken from him by treachery and ſurprize: he therefore demanded that it ſhould be reſtored to him, employing at the ſame time the moſt preſſing inſtances. Fouroux, not owning the authority of the council, gave himſelf no trouble about his defence; ſo that he only produced his commiſſions, and ſaid, that what he had done was in obedience to the pope's orders, in execution of which, he had retaken a galley that belonged to his holineſs, and which had been ſcandalouſly carried off by Moret in the ſight of all Italy; and that in caſe the order did not think fit to puniſh that robber, the pope knew how to do himſelf juſtice, even upon thoſe, who, out of politic conſiderations, and in oppoſition to the obedience which they owed him, ſhould refuſe to take notice of ſo flagrant a robbery.

IT appearing upon proof, that the galley in diſpute had been carried off out of the pope's harbours, the council ordered Moret, who had managed that affair, to be arreſted, but left Fouroux only in the cuſtody of the grand prior; who, upon his giving his parole, anſwered readily for keeping him. The grand maſter immediately diſpatched an embaſſador to the pope, to receive his orders in relation to this diſpute; and wrote at the ſame time to the king of Spain, and his miniſters in Italy, to acquaint them alſo with it. The pope and the king of France demanded by concert, that Fouroux ſhould be ſent to them with his prize, and the robber be delivered into their hands, to be puniſhed by

martial

martial law. There was no disputing the pope's authority; they were forced to obey, and send back the galley to the port of Civita-Vecchia, and the cargo was restored to the owners. As for Moret, they kept him for some time in prison; but at last, out of regard to the king of Spain, they let him make his escape, which the council was glad to connive at; and the duke of Medina Celi, then viceroy of Sicily, sent a brigantine upon the coast to take him on board. The council examined witnesses about his escape, and sent an account of it to the pope, who, after the restitution of his galley, seemed to be well enough satisfied.

NOTWITHSTANDING that this affair had been managed and terminated with great prudence, nevertheless the division it occasioned in the convent, and the reproaches which dropped from the council with regard to the grand master's conduct in it, gave him so sensible a concern, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, followed by a languishing state of health and soon after by a death truly Christian. He would not dispose of any of his effects, though he had obtained leave to do so from a general chapter; and, notwithstanding the great sums he had laid out in fortifying the isle of Malta, he nevertheless left upwards of sixty thousand crowns behind him. The council could not but admire a spirit so nobly disinterested; and, to shew their sense of it, sent twelve thousand livres into France, to augment the portion of madamoiselle de Mont-Chanar his niece. They founded, pursuant to the intention of the deceased, a mass for ever in the chapel of the castle of St. Angelo; and laid out part of the money in ornaments for the church of the convent, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, on which they put the grand master de la Sangle's arms, as a monument both of his piety, and of the gratitude of the order.

August 18. 1557.

THERE was no great difficulty in the choice of a successor; the bailiff of Lions, nephew to the marshal Vallier, had indeed some votes at first, notwithstanding

ing that he was abſent; but no ſooner had one of the electors propoſed the commander JOHN DE LA VALETTE, but all the votes united in his favour. This nobleman had never left Malta ſince the time of his reception into the order, and had gradually filled up all the offices of it; he had been a ſoldier, a captain, a general, an able politician, firm in his reſolutions, and as much eſteemed among the knights as formidable to the infidels. The order, under his adminiſtration, recovered its antient authority, which had been much impaired in ſome provinces of Germany, and in the territories of the republic of Venice. DE LA VALETTE. Auguſt 21. 1557.

EVER ſince the time that the Huſſites had ruined moſt of the commanderies of Bohemia, the common treaſury of the order could never draw any thing from that kingdom, and the adjoining provinces. They had been engaged in continual wars either in Hungary, or in the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria; which following cloſe upon the inſurrections raiſed by the Huſſites, had interrupted the payment of the reſponſions, which the knights of that country were obliged to ſend either to Rhodes or Malta; and the priors of thoſe large provinces had aſſumed to themſelves a right of nomination to the commandries that fell vacant within their reſpective priories. The grand maſter, unable to ſuffer abuſes which he ſaw were growing up into cuſtoms, and, which would in time plead a right of preſcription, wrote about it in the ſtrongeſt terms to thoſe provinces; and, in order to put an end to them the more effectually, he applied himſelf to the emperor, and to Ferdinand king of the Romans his brother. Theſe princes, who knew what an excellent uſe the order made of its revenues, ſignified to the ſeveral priors and commanders whoſe commandries lay within their territories, that it was their intention, they ſhould give entire ſatisfaction to the grand maſter. The German knights met in a chapter, and immediately diſpatched away Wenceſlas de Heſſe-Aſſemburg, prior of

of Bohemia; Sigiſmund Romer, commander of Mieſperg; and Henry de Rietchenau, commander of Eſtugna, as their deputies to Malta; who, in the name of all the knights of their language, took the oath of obedience to the grand maſter; promiſed to pay their reſponſions, and the taxes which ſhould be laid upon their provinces by general chapters; and by an inſtrument in form, in the name of all the priors of Germany, made a ſolemn renunciation of all manner of right to diſpoſe of the commandries within their reſpective priories, one only excepted, which, according to the general cuſtom of the whole order, they had a privilege of conferring once in five years.

THE Venetian commanders, by virtue of the protection which the ſenate gave them, were for following the example of the Germans, in getting themſelves excuſed from paying their reſponſions, under pretence that they ſerved their country againſt the Turks. But as theſe kinds of contributions were employed only in armaments againſt the infidels, the grand maſter repreſented the duty they owed, and their primary obligations, in ſo clear a light, and demanded their obedience with ſo much reſolution and authority, that they all ſubmitted to his orders, and a little after ſent their reſponſions to Malta, as did likewiſe the Germans; both of which were ever afterwards regularly paid.

AFTER this regulation, which related to the provinces, and as it were the out parts of the convent, the grand maſter undertook an affair, which once had made a great noiſe at Malta, and indeed over all Europe; but which, like the greateſt events, now grown ſo out of date that it was talked of no more. The marſhal de Valliér, governor of Tripoli, whom the grand maſter d'Omedes had proſecuted with ſo much vigour, was ſtill living; and this old commander, whom before that unhappy affair, moſt of the knights intended to have choſen for their grand maſter, was then pining away in obſcurity, but which ſuited his misfortunes. 'Tis indeed true, the grand maſter de la Sangle had ſet him at liberty; but various conſiderations, and the tender-

neſs

neſs and regard which he thought himſelf obliged to ſhew to the memory and friends of d'Omedes, had hindered him from reſtoring him to his honours.

BUT the grand maſter de la Valette, being naturally more intrepid, and thoroughly perſuaded of the marſhal's merit and good conduct, thought it his duty to do him juſtice; and, after having taken an exact review of the proceedings againſt him, and made an impartial enquiry into the merits of the caſe, he cleared him of the unjuſt accuſations which his enemies had brought to blacken him, conferring upon him at the ſame time, the title of grand bailiff of Lango, as an atteſtation, and the ſeal of his innocence. He did not ſtop here; but that he might revenge him, and the whole order, for the inſults and ill treatment they had met with from the infidels at the taking of Tripoli, he entered into a project, which John de la Creda, duke of Medina-Celi, viceroy of Sicily, had propoſed to him for the recovery of that place.

DRAGUT was at that time in poſſeſſion of it. This famous corſair, not ſucceeding in his views of obtaining from the Sultan the title of baſha, and the poſt of lord high admiral of his empire, a dignity which had been conferred on Barbaroſſa had reſigned the ſangiac-ſhip of Santa Maura; and, under pretence of zeal for maſter's ſervice, and of defending the coaſts of Africa againſt the incurſions of the knights of Malta, had contented himſelf with the title of governor of Tripoli: but as the place lay a a vaſt diſtance from the porte, it was in reality a kind of little principality, which he governed with an authority that was in a manner abſolute, altho' he, in order to continue himſelf the benefit of the grand ſeignior's protection, affected to ſhew himſelf entirely ſubſervient to all his orders.

THIS corſair, ever ſince his ſettlement in Tripoli, had wholly employed himſelf in repairing its walls and in fortifying them with ramparts, deſigning to make it his place of arms, and the ſeat of his dominion. He had taken care to ſtrengthen the fortifications with ſeveral baſtions, and with all the works which the ground

would

would admit of, or that art had invented at that time. Nor was the caſtle leſs ſtrongly fortified; and notwithſtanding that its ſituation was not very advantageous, he, by his continual pains, and a prodigious expence, had made it one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Africa. The entrance of the port was ſecured by great towers, and well provided with artillery, ſo that it ſerved for a ſecure retreat to the veſſels of Dragut, and other corſairs who cruized under the grand ſeignior's flag; and 'twas from hence that all thoſe infidel rovers ſailed, who infeſted the coaſts of Sicily and Naples, and inſulted even thoſe of Spain.

THE new viceroy of Sicily, in order to ſignalize his acceſſion to that dignity, formed a ſcheme for beſieging Tripoli; and, the better to carry his point, he endeavoured to engage the grand maſter in it: nor did he find it a difficult matter, to bring him into a deſign which was calculated to deſtroy that neſt of pirates. They, by concert, wrote to Philip II. king of Spain, upon this ſubject; who, tho' he was not a very warlike prince, yet, as the ſecurity of his coaſts, and the tranquility of his ſubjects were concerned in it, and that moreover he was apprehenſive leſt Dragut ſhould attempt to reduce Goletta, approved a project which came recommended by the grand maſter's approbation; of whoſe valour and capacity he was highly ſenſible, and whoſe knights were to ſhare in the expence and the dangers of the enterpriſe.

PHILIP ſent orders to the duke of Seſſa, governor of the Milaneſe; to the duke of Alcala, who commanded in the kingdom of Naples; and to John Andrew Doria, general of his gallies, to join their forces, and tranſport them to Sicily. The general command of the army was given to the duke of Medina-Celi, with expreſs inſtructions to follow the grand maſter's advice in the whole conduct of this enterprize. But as the three noblemen above mentioned, by their diſtance from court, had taken upon themſelves to obey no further than they thought proper, and being jealous withal of the authority which the king their

1559.

maſter

maſter had veſted in the viceroy of Sicily, they found out various pretences to retard the execution of his orders; ſo that Philip was at laſt forced to ſend the commander de Guimerans, an old knight who chanced to be at his court, into Italy, in order to haſten the march of theſe ſeveral bodies of troops, and to lead them to Sicily.

THE grand maſter, ſeeing it very late in the year, was for putting off the enterprize to the next ſpring, and wrote to the viceroy to that purpoſe; but as that nobleman was afraid leſt the king ſhould change his mind, or that ſome court-cabal ſhould ſupplant him in a commiſſion, which he fancied would afford him an opportunity of acquiring no little ſhare of glory, he made all the haſte he could to ſet out; when appointing the general rendezvous of the fleet in the iſland of Malta, he, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, came thither about the middle of December, where he was received with all the honours due to his dignity, and the potent monarch he repreſented. The troops he had brought with him were put into good quarters; and the grand maſter reviewed in his preſence thoſe he deſigned for the expedition: they conſiſted of four hundred knights of the order, and fifteen hundred men in their ſervice, beſides volunteers. The chevalier de Urre de Teſſieres, a great captain, and at that time general of the gallies was made their commander in chief; and the grand maſter and council repoſed ſo much confidence in his valour and experience, that they left him the choice of his lieutenant, and the officer he ſhould ſubſtitute in his place, either to command the land forces, in caſe he ſhould think fit to keep always at ſea; or to ſtay on board the gallies, in caſe he ſhould take upon himſelf the command of the troops which were to form the ſiege.

THE viceroy thanked the grand maſter for this ſtrong reinforcement, and was particularly overjoyed at the ſight of that body of brave men, being no leſs than four hundred, who were to go on board, all of them antient knights, that had grown old in the ſervice.

Nor was he less edified with the charitable care, which the other knights afterwards took of his officers and soldiers that fell ill; for during the two months that these foreign troops continued in the island, their sick were looked after, and attended with pious zeal, from which the order has never once deviated ever since its foundation.

In fine, the Milanese and Neapolitan troops arriving at Malta in the beginning of February, several councils of war were held, in order to consider upon the operations of the campaign. The siege of Tripoli was, as we have said, the principal design of this armament; but as the viceroy had been informed of the new fortifications which had been made to the place, and particularly that Dragut, a formidable commander, had thrown himself into it with all his best troops, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions, the dangers of the enterprize, and the uncertainty of the success, enervated his courage; and as he was a much better courtier than a general, he proposed the conquest of the isle of Gelves, where he was in hopes of acquiring glory unattended with danger.

The grand master readily agreed, that they indeed would meet with no great difficulties in reducing a small island, which was open on all sides, and which had no fortress in it, but one single castle that was but poorly fortified; but he also represented at the same time, that what rendered it so exceeding weak, and made the conquest of it so very easy, would likewise make it impracticable for them to keep it, and thereby put the infidels, as soon as the fleet should be retired, upon making an attempt to recover it; that the open country was peopled with Moors or Arabs, who would not fail to lay ambuscades in the forests of palm-trees, and hinder them in that dry country, from fetching water out of some wells which had been dug in the island; that moreover there was some reason to fear lest the grand seignior's fleet, with which they were threatned, should come upon them, whilst they were in the midst of the enterprize, and sink their gallies: whereas, if they

could

could but reduce Tripoli, they ſhould be ſecure in that port, and the banks of ſand and flats, which lay along the coaſt thereabouts, would be of uſe to them againſt the great veſſels of the Turkiſh navy.

THE viceroy, who thought his honour obliged him to adhere to his opinion, would not hearken to theſe reaſons which were brought againſt it, but ſtill maintained that he would reduce the iſland before ſuch time as the grand ſeignior could be able to fit out a fleet, and ſend it to ſea; and that, in order to ſecure their conqueſt, they had nothing to do but to fortify the caſtle with four baſtions, which would put both it and the whole iſland in a ſufficient ſtate of defence. The members of the council of war were divided between theſe two oppoſite opinions; but as the greateſt part of the officers had their dependence on the viceroy, very few durſt declare themſelves of a ſentiment contrary to his. The grand maſter urged to him, that he, by changing the project and plan of the campaign, was going to act directly contrary to the intentions of the king his maſter, and the inſtructions which had been given him; but all in vain; la Cerda was obſtinate, and adhered firmly to his opinion. La Valette, who foreſaw the ill conſequences which they might juſtly expect from this enterprize, told him plainly, that he might, if he pleaſed, employ his maſter's troops as he thought proper; but that in caſe he laid aſide the firſt project, which had been approved of by the king of Spain, and communicated to the council of the order, he would not ſuffer a knight to ſtir out of the iſland. The viceroy was vexed to find the grand maſter ſo reſolute; but not being able to purſue his deſigns without his reinforcement, he ſeemed to come over to his ſentiments, and pretended to apply himſelf entirely to the firſt project. All the talk was now of the ſiege of Tripoli; but as the grand maſter diſcovered, that he had ſtill ſome doubt of the ſincerity of his intentions, the viceroy, in order to remove his ſuſpicions, ſwore in a ſolemn manner, by the life of the king his ſovereign, and by the head of Gaſtion de la Cerda his ſon, a young

nobleman, whom he had brought along with him, that he would ſail directly for Tripoli, which he promiſed to inveſt. This however was the fartheſt off his thoughts; but he reſolved to conceal his real deſign, till ſuch time as he ſhould be out at ſea, where he would have the ſole direction of the army, and, in conſequence of that, ſteer which way he ſhould judge proper.

THIS imbarkation was made upon the tenth of February; the grand maſter put, over and above the troops of the order, two hundred Malteſe pioneers on board, to ſerve at the ſiege of Tripoli. The chevaliers Flotte and de la Roche had the charge of the artillery that was to be put on ſhore; and the hoſpital for the ſick and wounded officers and ſoldiers, was committed to the care of the commander Garcia de Contreras, with ſome other knights for his aſſiſtants. The Chriſtian fleet ſteered away for the coaſt of Africa, and arrived at Seches de Querquene. The iſle of Gelves had been always ſubject to its own princes; but Dragut, ever ſince his being ſettled in Tripoli under the grand ſeignior's authority, had made thoſe petty ſovereigns tributary to the porte. The corſair, as ſoon as he had advice of the viceroy's being off the iſland with his fleet, ſailed thither with two gallies, and put into the channel of Cantara, of which mention has been already made in the eleventh book. The Chriſtian general, ſpying theſe two gallies, detached a greater number to take them; but the commodore of the Chriſtian gallies, ſeeing two merchant-ſhips coming from Alexandria, bore down upon them and took them, a thirſt after booty making him neglect the purſuit of Dragut's two gallies. Whilſt he was buſy in plundering theſe veſſels, Dragut with his gallies, got out of the channel, and diſpatched one of them, commanded by the corſair Uluchiali, to give advice to the porte, that a ſtrong fleet, compoſed of the ſquadrons of the king of Spain; and the knights of Malta, was ravaging the coaſt of Barbary, and threatned to lay ſiege to Tripoli. By the ſame expreſs he deſired that ſuccours might be immediately ſent him; during which, he, after having left orders for the defence

of

of the iſle of Gelves, returned with as much diligence as he had come, and ſhut up himſelf in Tripoli. Solyman, as ſoon as he received the news, ſent ſtrict orders to all the ports of the Archipelago, to fit out immediately all ſuch ſhips and gallies, as were in a condition to be put to ſea: Cara Muſtapha, his high admiral, who was to command the fleet, took the ſame care in the port of Conſtantinople.

In the mean time, the viceroy was forced to land ſeveral times to take in freſh water, and never made a deſcent but he found the people of Gelves ready to oppoſe him. Theſe, indeed, hated the Turks in their hearts, and were very uneaſy under their yoke; but this hatred gave way to the reſentment which they conceived at the ſeizure of the merchant ſhips which belonged to them. Full of rage on that occaſion, they fell upon the viceroy's detachments, and, in the ſkirmiſhes between them, Alvarez de Sande, one of the principal officers of the army, was wounded, and the Chriſtians were forced to reimbark with the loſs of two hundred men, and five captains of foot. The fleet put to ſea again, and made towards Tripoli, but ſtopped at the *Flats of Palo*, ſo called by reaſon of ſeveral currents, which ſometimes leave that part of the ſea dry. The viceroy came to an anchor near theſe currents, in expectation of the coming up of part of his troops, which could not ſet out from Malta with the body of the army: he landed ſome men on the neighbouring coaſt, to dig wells in ſeveral places. The water they met with here being clear and agreeable to taſte, they carried a great quantity of it on board the fleet; both officers and ſoldiers drinking of it with greedineſs: but experience ſoon ſhewed them its ill effects; moſt of thoſe who drank of it falling ill, and a great number of them died; among whom were ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable knights of the order. Their fleet was at the ſame time attacked with a furious ſtorm, and the admiral galley of Sicily, ſtriking againſt the gallion of Malta, was ſhattered to pieces, and ſunk to the bottom. Theſe accidents, which are

common enough at sea, were only as so many preludes to a more deplorable misfortune.

THE viceroy, when the weather grew calm, proposed, in a council of war, the quitting of that station. The commander de Tessieres, pursuant to his instructions, proposed to him the going first to Langur, an healthy place, where there was good anchorage, and which lay very convenient for their passage to Tripoli; he represented further, that they, by taking that place, and particularly by being masters of the port, would thereby secure the fleet not only against storms, but also against the armada, which they said was coming from Constantinople; not to mention that the Moors and inhabitants of the country would declare themselves against the Turks with more confidence, when they should see the Christians masters of that place; and that after the reducing of Tripoli, that of Gelves would cost them but a visit.

BUT the viceroy, who was in no ways fond of difficult enterprises, rejected the motion, under pretence that the winds were contrary. The officers who composed the council, being his dependants, durst not appear to be of a different opinion. Hereupon they returned to Gelves on the seventh of March; from whence the general of the Maltese gallies dispatched a frigate to the grand master, to give him an account of all that had passed; informing him at the same time, that the viceroy had not courage enough to advance to Tripoli.

THE Christians landed in the island without the least opposition, not a single Moor offering to dispute their descent: upon which, they advanced up into the country, to a place where there were some wells of fresh water, but they were filled up; when opening them, though with a great deal of difficulty, they found the water had a very bitter taste, occasioned by the great quantity of aloes-leaves which the people of Gelves had thrown into them. The Christian army encamped in this place; during which, some deputies, or rather spies, from the cheick, or lord of the island, arrived; who demand-

demanded an interview with the viceroy, under pretence of complaining of war having been made upon them without any occaſion given on their part, or any declaration of it on his. They propoſed in his name, that the army ſhould quit the iſland, and that a conference ſhould be held at la Rochette; where, they ſaid, the Chriſtians would find plenty of good water. The viceroy, without either directly accepting, or entirely rejecting this propoſal, told them, that he was ready enough to enter into a conference with their maſter, but that it muſt be at the foot of the caſtle, whither he was going to ſet out immediately. Theſe deputies, having by this means an opportunity of obſerving his forces, made their report of them accordingly to the cheick; who, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out ſo weak a place againſt a body of troops, conſiderable for their number as well as their experience, was diſpoſed to capitulate. But his principal officers, and the young men, called out aloud for an engagement; and whether it were that he had a mind to try the fate of a battle before he came to a treaty; or that, perhaps, not having the inhabitants entirely at his command, he was not ſorry that ſome loſs and diſappointment ſhould make them more tractable for the future: be that as it will, he gave them a permiſſion to do what it was not in his power to hinder. The Barbarians now ſally out in a rage; and, thinking to ſurpriſe the Chriſtians, advance with more impetuoſity than order towards the camp. They failed however in their attempt, the viceroy having had notice from two Chriſtian ſlaves, who had made their eſcape, that he ſhould be attacked the next day. He did not think proper to wait for the coming up of his enemies; but, immediately marching his troops, he advanced in good order to meet them. The knights of Malta, with two companies of Germans, were in the van; the main battle was compoſed of 3000 Italians and Sicilians, and the rear of 3000 Spaniards. This was the order the little army obſerved in its march; when the people of Gelves, to the number

number of about 2000, sallied out from behind an hill that covered them; and, rushing on with their usual shouts, attacked the vanguard sword in hand. But as they had neither horse, nor arquebusiers, the knights with one single fire of their muskets, killed a great number of them, and soon put all this multitude o peasants to flight. Upon this the Cheick, in order to prevent his own ruin, and the ravage of the island, entered into a treaty with the viceroy, delivered up to him the keys of the castle, acknowledged the king of Spain for his sovereign, and engaged to pay him tribute. La Cerda, all in raptures at his success, fell into extraordinary transports of joy. He boasted of his being the first general of his nation, who had made any conquest to enlarge the king his master's dominions since his accession to the crown of Spain; and, in order to preserve such a monument of his valour, he resolved to build a fort there, in order to curb the fickle and mutinous temper of the Moors. This fortress, according to the plan he drew of it, was to be composed of four bastions: Andrew Gonzaga undertook the building of that which looked towards the east, as the knights of Malta did that which was of the opposite side, and which lay towards the west; the viceroy employed the Sicilian troops on that which lay southward; and John Andrew Doria, general of the gallies set his crew to work on the last, which lay between that of the knights of Malta, and that of the viceroy. The side which ran from the west northward, was defended by the sea; and a thick wall, with good ramparts, was to enclose that side which ran from the north eastward.

THE knights, who had brought 200 pioneers, made a considerable progress in their work; but it went on heavily in other places, through the greediness of the soldiers, who, meeting with great plenty of wool and oil in the island, stole off from their work to run it privately on shipboard, being much more pleased with this employment than the laborious one of carrying earth and materials for the fort. Besides, both the

army

army and the fleet began to be again infected with diſtempers, occaſioned by the exceſſive heats of the climate, by the noxious qualities of the air, by the bitterneſs of the water, and particularly by their feeding on a kind of long-tailed mutton, which proved very unwholſome. This threw John Andrew Doria into a fit of ſickneſs, and proved the death of Quirico Spinola, and ſeveral knights; and ſo great a number of the men were afflicted with ſuch a variety of diſtempers, that the commander de Teſſieres, general of the gallies of the order, was obliged to give the grand maſter advice of their condition, and to deſire his orders how to act. The grand maſter was greatly troubled at the ill news; and, as a long experience had made him well acquainted with the country, and the ſeas about it, he ſaw with infinite concern, that in caſe the viceroy ſhould make longer ſtay in the iſland, he would probably be ſurpriſed by the Turkiſh fleet. He wrote Teſſieres word, that he was entirely againſt the building a fort in ſuch a barren place, which lay out of the way of all ſuccours, and which, moreover, was without water, or any harbour for veſſels to put into. At the ſame time he diſpatched a knight to the king of Spain, to acquaint him of the danger to which the viceroy expoſed his army by his too long ſtay in the iſland. He gave the like notice to la Cerda, by an expreſs which he ſent to Africa, ſending orders at the ſame time to the commander de Teſſieres, that in caſe the viceroy ſhould be reſolved to carry on his work, and ſtay in ſuch a dangerous poſt, he then had no more to do but to take his leave, and return immediately to Malta, where his troops would be more ſerviceable, in caſe the Turks ſhould think fit to make a diverſion, and attack the iſles of the order. A few days afterwards he diſpatched a ſecond expreſs with advice, that he had juſt received an account of the grand ſeignior's having ſent away forty gallies to relieve Tripoli, which he imagined was beſieged; that this ſquadron was to be reinforced by twenty ſhips of the corſairs, and, at its coming off the coaſt of Barbary, was alſo to be joined

by

by twenty-two others, under the command of Dragut; and that there was a body of freſh troops on board the fleet, which, upon the junction of theſe ſeveral ſquadrons, would be much ſuperior to that of the Chriſtians, whoſe ſoldiers, being moſt on them in a ſickly condition, would, for that reaſon, fall an eaſy prey to their enemies.

THE commander de Teſſieres, and John Andrew Doria, laboured ſtrenuouſly to engage the viceroy to quit his deſign for ſome time of building a fort, adviſing him to embark all his troops, and advance to meet the ſquadron of Conſtantinople in the Archipelago, and give the Turks battle before they ſhould be joined by the gallies of the corſairs; at the ſame time, repreſenting to him, that they, after having defeated the grand ſeignior's fleet, might return into Barbary, and lay ſiege to Tripoli, the reducing of which place would ſecure that of the iſle of Gelves. But the viceroy was ſo prepoſſeſſed by the paſſion he had to finiſh his work, and to leave a fortreſs of his own name in Africa, that he was deaf to all remonſtrances on this ſubject, and imagined that their advice proceeded only from a ſecret jealouſy of his glory; ſo that it was impoſſible for them to get the better of his obſtinacy. The commander de Teſſieres ſeeing his ruin unavoidable, and moſt of the knights, ſoldiers and ſeamen, in a dying condition, took leave of him, and ſet ſail with his troops, in order to return home. He loſt in his paſſage nine knights more, who died of ſickneſs; and he himſelf expired a few days after his arrival. The greateſt part of his ſoldiers, mariners and ſlaves, were ſwept away by the mortality; inſomuch, that thoſe gallies were not, for a long time after, in a condition to put to ſea.

THE grand maſter, having always the ſafety of the Chriſtian fleet at heart, ſent three other gallies to Africa, to ſupply their places, with a reinforcement of freſh troops on board, and manned with a new crew of ſlaves. The chevalier de Maldonat was to command at ſea; and the commander de Gnimeran was general

neral of the land forces. This ſmall reinforcement arrived at Gelves on the 27th of April, at the very time that two brigantines arrived from the viceroy of Naples's lieutenant; who, fearing leſt the Turks ſhould make a deſcent in that kingdom, had ſent them into Africa, to bring back the old Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he thought neceſſary for the defence of the country. Upon the 10th of May, there arrived another brigantine from Malta, having the chevalier Hugh de Copones on board, whom the grand maſter had ſent to Doria, with advice that the Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of eighty-five gallies, had appeared 1560. off the coaſt of Goza the 7th of that month.

Doria, who was ſick, ſent his letters to the viceroy, acquainting him at the ſame time, that in caſe he did not immediately put his troops on board in the night time, and before day-break, it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape the formidable power of the Turks. But nothing could remove the viceroy's infatuation; who, though he had no longer room to doubt of the arrival of the Ottoman fleet, ſtill flattered himſelf that the admiral would go firſt to Tripoli to confer with Dragut, and that he, during that interval, would have time enough to embark his troops and artillery. Fatal was the event of this unſeaſonable obſtinacy, the enemy's fleet appearing at day-break, under the command of Cara Muſtapha; Piali baſha, the grand ſeignior's favourite, being general of the land forces. When Doria ſaw this fleet bearing down upon him in good order, he cried out; "Well! the obſtinacy of one man "has ruined us all: but nevertheleſs, we ſhall have "this ſatisfaction, that we ſhall not be vanquiſhed "without having foreſeen our defeat."

THE ſight of the Turkiſh armada threw the Chriſtian fleet into a terrible conſternation and diſorder. The mortality had ſwept away ſuch a number of the ſeamen and ſoldiers, that the gallies were not half manned; and in this confuſion no body conſulted any thing but his fears: they did not offer at an engagement, and every captain made the beſt of his way to get out of

the

the reach of the artillery of the enemy. The Turks took twenty gallies, and fourteen great ſhips, with their crew, and all they had on board; ſome other Chriſtian gallies were detained for want of water, among the banks of ſand, which they called *les Seches*, or *the Flatts*: theſe the infidels (manning their boats with ſoldiers) ſeized on without reſiſtance. The commander de Maldonat ſeeing all the fleet routed and diſperſed, and his own three gallies purſued by the enemies, behaved himſelf like a man of bravery and judgment; and being as excellent a pilot, as he was a brave officer, he worked his veſſels with ſo much art, and with ſo many feints, that, making as if he would run aground, he at laſt doubled the cape of Sphax, when tacking about to the right, he ſtood out to ſea, and got ſafe to Malta.

THE Turks, ſeeing no enemy left to diſpute the victory with them, celebrated it with a diſcharge of all their artillery, and other public demonſtrations of joy; reſolving to land their troops the next day, to ſeize upon the iſland, and make ſlaves of all ſuch Chriſtians as ſhould be left upon it. Whilſt all the men on board their fleet were celebrating their conqueſts with ſhouts and acclamations, the viceroy, overwhelmed with trouble for his defeat, and aſhamed and confounded at his not having followed Doria's advice, reſolved to apply to him in this extremity; and coming to his bed ſide, where he lay ſick, "Doria, ſays he, you who "are the only perſon that has judged wiſely on this "occaſion, what would you adviſe me to do? Sir, "replies Doria, as you are general of the land forces, 'tis your buſineſs to take ſuch meaſures, as you "ſhall think moſt conducive for their ſafety. As for "our unhappy fleet, I have taken a reſolution to be "put on board a light brigantine this very night, when "I will endeavour to get in the dark through the enemies fleet; and if I ſucceed in my attempt, will rally together as many of our ſcattered veſſels as I ſhall

"meet

"meet with, when I will ſail for Meſſina, and there "wait for orders from court."

THE viceroy told him that he would go along with him, and abandon himſelf entirely to his conduct; and though there remained ſtill near 5000 men in the fort, and other parts of the iſland, he yet choſe to deſert them, and fly, to ſurvive his diſgrace, rather than bury himſelf bravely in the ruins of the fortreſs. He left Alvarez de Sande, an excellent officer, who had gained great reputation in the wars of Piedmont, to command them, after which he went on board, together with ſome general officers. By Doria's ſkill and dexterity, he got clear of the Turkiſh veſſels, and, touching at Malta, went from thence into Sicily, there to conceal his defeat and misfortunes: but thoſe of the Chriſtians, who were left behind in the iſland did not end with the rout of the fleet; for the Turks landing their troops and artillery, laid ſiege to the fort, which they battered with 18 pieces of cannon. Had theſe been the only enemies whom de Sande had to oppoſe, his caſe would not have been ſo deſperate; but he, during three months that he ſuſtained the ſiege with invincible courage, had not only men to fight with, but alſo famine, thirſt, and, as it were, all the elements. All the water in their ciſterns was ſpent, and there was no wood left in the fortreſs to dreſs their victuals. The greateſt part of the ſoldiers, chuſing rather to deſert than die with thirſt, delivered themſelves up to the enemy. De Sande ſeeing his own cannon dismounted, and the fortifications of the place beaten down by that of the Turks; and, moreover, finding himſelf deſtitute both of wood and water, and the ſoldiers he had left ſick, emaciated and in a languiſhing condition, reſolved to make a gallant ſally, and either open himſelf a paſſage, or die honourably ſword in hand. Then repreſenting to his men that their ſafety depended on their courage, he put himſelf at their head, and ſallied out at a time when he thought to ſurpriſe the infidels; but the Turks having been informed of his deſign by ſome deſerters, were ready to receive him, ſo that he

was ſcarce out of the fort, when he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and overpowered by different bodies of troops, who fell upon him. He had not even the ſatisfaction of dying in the field, but was taken by the infidels, and ſent to the gallies with the reſt of his officers and ſoldiers. The baſha hereupon took poſſeſſion of the place, but ordered all the fortifications to be demoliſhed, for fear leſt the Chriſtians ſhould recover it after his departure; after which, he ſet out on his return to Conſtantinople, covered with glory, and leading an infinite number of priſoners, together with the Chriſtian gallies, in triumph. Near fourteen thouſand men periſhed in this unhappy expedition; who were either deſtroyed by the ſword, or by ſickneſs, or elſe carried away into ſlavery. The Spaniards alone loſt 28 gallies and 14 ſhips of burden, beſides thoſe of the pope, and two which belonged to Coſmo duke of Florence Peter Machiavel, who commanded them, ſaved two other gallies at firſt; but meeting afterwards with thirteen Algerine gallies, near the Iſle of Giglio, they were forced to run upon the rocks that lye off of the iſland of Corſica. The officers and ſoldiers however ſaved themſelves aſhore; but the infidels ſeized the hulls of the gallies, and ſet the crew of ſlaves, who were all Mahometans, at liberty.

'TWAS about this time that Coſmo duke of Florence, in order to ſecure himſelf for the future againſt their incurſions, formed a body of ſeamen; and the better to engage the officers of it in his intereſt, inſtituted an order of knighthood, which ſerved afterwards as a nurſery for the knights of Malta. This new order was dedicated to pope St. Stephen, whoſe feaſt is kept on the ſecond of Auguſt, a day that was propitious to this prince, and on which his generals had a little before defeated the exiles of Florence, at the battle of Marciano. Coſmo ſettled the great convent of the order at Piſa, which he endowed with great revenues, and drew up the laws and ſtatutes of it himſelf: and, as it might be of a dangerous conſequence, in a new government, to leave a body of gentry under any other authority than

than his own, he made himſelf the head and grand maſter of it; and the princes his ſons, who were three in number, were the firſt knights of the order. Francis, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor, and whom he afterwards ſent to the court of Spain; John, who was hardly ſixteen years of age, when he was made a cardinal; and Garſia, the youngeſt of the three, who was a prince of a ſavage temper. The two laſt had, from a ſpirit of jealouſy and emulation, which began from their cradle, entertained a violent hatred againſt one another, that they could never be prevailed upon to lay aſide, and which broke out at this time in a very fatal manner. Whilſt Coſmo, attended with all his family, in order to ſettle his new body of knights, was viſiting the ports and maritime places of his dominions, theſe two young princes, quarrelling at a party of hunting, which they had made in the foreſts near Groſſetto, ſtole off, by concert, from their attendants, and retired into the middle of a wood, where they fought, when Garſia killed the cardinal with a dagger. This being done, he comes up to the reſt of the company, and with a very unconcerned air, and as if he had only loſt his way, asks what was become of his brother. As that young prince did not appear, and the night was drawing on, his officers diſperſed themſelves different ways to look for him; and he who was particulary entruſted with the care of him, after having traverſed all the foreſt, found him at laſt lying dead upon the ground, and weltring in his gore; upon which he ran with all imaginable ſpeed to acquaint Coſmo with the diſmal news. Coſmo immediately ſuſpected the perſon that had given the deadly blow; yet, notwithſtanding his being in the higheſt tranſports of grief, he ſtill had command enough over himſelf to diſſemble it, ordering the officer to keep it a ſecret, and when it was dark, ſo wrap his ſon's body in a carpet, and to bring it into his cloſet unſeen to any one.

No ſooner were his orders executed, but he ſent for Garſia, and ſhutting his cloſet door, asked him what

was become of his brother. The young prince, with an assurance very uncommon at his age, answered him very gravely, that he had lost sight of him in the chace, in his eager pursuit of the stag. Cosmo then ordered him to lift up the carpet which covered the cardinal's body, from whose wounds the blood was still gushing out in great abundance. At this sad spectacle, the duke, no longer able to stifle his grief and resentment, cried out in a rage, "Thou wretch, see there the blood "of thy brother, that cries to heaven for vengeance "against thee! Have I given life to a parricide, who, "by the murder of his brother, has opened to himself "a way to assassinate his father also?" Garsia, in a fright, threw himself at his feet, confessed his guilt; and, to lessen the horror of his crime, alledged, that his brother had attacked him first, and that he had been forced to kill him in his own defence. But Cosmo rejecting this poor excuse, and giving him a furious look, "I must, says he, myself revenge the death of "the innocent by the destruction of the guilty, and "you must give back your life to him who gave it "you." As he was speaking these words, he snatched from him the dagger, with which he had killed his brother, and stabbed him to the heart. They were both buried afterwards in a very private manner; and, in order to conceal so dismal a catastrophe from the world, it was given out, that they died at a country-house of a contagious distemper, which at that time raged in Tuscany. Their obsequies were afterwards celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral church at Florence; and in the funeral oration, which was made on that occasion, the orator, by Cosmo's order, affected to expatiate chiefly on the praises of Garsia, purposely to take away all suspicion of the murder. 'Tis in this manner that Monsieur de Thou has related this tragical event in the 32d book of his history; though it is pretended that this fact is not mentioned in his first edition, but that it has been since inserted by the publishers of the later editions. Eleonora of Toledo, mother to the young princes, from whom they

they could not conceal the circumſtances of their death, died of grief; but Coſmo, without ſinking under the weight of his misfortunes, endeavoured to divert the thought of them by a cloſe application to the affairs of government. His great buſineſs at this time was to put his new order on a flouriſhing footing; and in order to make this badge of diſtinction a means of uniting the principal families of Florence in the intereſt of his houſe, this able prince, one of the greateſt politicians of his age, obtained leave from pope Pius IV. to diſpenſe his new knights from the obligation of celibacy, which was obſerved in the order of Malta; and even ſuch as had been twice married had the favour of being admitted into it. He gave them likeways the privilege, in default of legitimate iſſue, of bequeathing their eſtates to their baſtards, upon condition, however, that they ſhould leave the fourth part thereof to the order. His intereſt did not allow him to conform in all theſe points, to the rigour and ſeverity of the ſtatutes obſerved by the knights of Malta; and he only exhorted thoſe of St. Stephen, to imitate them at leaſt in the valour and zeal which they had ſhewed for ſo many ages againſt the Turks and infidels.

'TWAS with this view, and for the perfecting them in military diſcipline, that he ordered the commodores of his gallies, whenever they ſhould meet thoſe of Malta, to join and keep company with them, and fall by concert upon all ſuch corſairs as they ſhould meet with. Purſuant to theſe orders, Baccio Martelli, knight of St. Stephen, being at ſea with four Florentine gallies under his command, and meeting off of Cape Lupo with Vincent de Gonzaga, prior of Barletto, general of the gallies of the order, who had ſeven under him, ſaluted him firſt, and went on board, deſiring leave to follow him: he readily obtained his requeſt; and, during all the time they were out a cruiſing, was exact in obſerving the orders which he gave afterwards to his ſubaltern officers. The general, with this reinforcement of four gallies, finding himſelf at the head of a ſquadron of eleven gallies, all well provided, ſcoured the Le-

vant over, reſcued a great number of veſſels that were chaced by the infidels, took ſeveral corſairs; and, when the campaign was over, he parted with the Florentines off of Corfu, and returned into the port of Malta; where, agreeable to the ſpirit of the order, he was welcomed with greater congratulations for the Chriſtian veſſels he had defended and reſcued, than for thoſe which he had taken from the infidels.

THIS was the reaſon why the gallies of the order were almoſt continually at ſea. The grand maſter built likeways two new ones at his own expence, and his example was daily followed by the richeſt commanders; they always employing themſelves generouſly, according to their ſeveral abilities, in fitting out different ſquadrons; ſo that the order had never been ſo powerful at ſea as at that time. But nothing ſtruck the infidels with greater terror, than that theſe ſquadrons were commanded by knights of great experience, who were grown old in the ſervice, and who were moſt of them qualified to command conſiderable fleets: ſuch were the commander Gozon de Melac, general of the gallies of the order; the commander de Guimeran, whom the king of Spain had deſired of the grand maſter to command thoſe of Sicily; the commanders de Giou and d'Elbeines, and the chevaliers de Thiange and la Motte, all excellent ſeamen, and of great reputation for their valour and experience. But among theſe ſeveral officers, there was not any one who took ſo many prizes, and ſo conſiderable at the ſame time, as the commander de Romegas, a knight who had followed cruiſing from his youth. No body was ſo well acquainted as he himſelf, with all the coaſts, the ports, and even the ſmalleſt creeks and bays in the Mediteranean; he was brave and intrepid, was fearleſs of danger, and would never ſuffer any officers or ſoldiers to be aboard him, that had not as much courage and reſolution as himſelf. The life which he had chiefly ſpent at ſea, had given him a ſavage look, and he was accuſed of treating his priſoners with cruelty; but he pretended that he had acted ſo only

ly by way of repriſal, and in order to force the corſairs to treat the Chriſtian ſlaves with more humanity. This apology, however, did not entirely remove the ſuſpicion the world had entertained, viz. that he, in uſing theſe repriſals in that manner, had not committed any great violence upon his nature; and that his temper, which was naturally cruel and violent, had perhaps contributed as much to it as his politics.

BE that as it will, he, at this time, met off of the coaſt of Sicily, with a large galiot, under the command of a famous corſair, Yſuf Conciny by name, a Calabrian renegado; a man, who was the tyrant, or rather the executioner of the Chriſtian ſlaves. Of theſe he had 200 in his ſhip, together with 250 ſoldiers on board. They were pretty near equal in ſtrength, and the corſair did not decline the combat; the two gallies bore down upon one another, and, after firing their broad-ſides, came to a cloſe engagement. The fight was maintained a long time with equal advantage, ſo that there was no diſtinguiſhing which ſide would be victorious: when at laſt, Romegas, enraged at ſuch a long reſiſtance, put himſelf at the head of his braveſt officers, leaped into the galiot ſword in hand, and forced the bend or wale of it. The corſair received him with the ſame courage, and killed two knights with his own hand: happening to fall, by a blow which he received, upon one of the rowers benches, the ſlaves, to revenge the ill treatment they had received from him, no ſooner ſaw Romegas maſter of the veſſel, but they handed the corſair from one to another without his oppoſing it. Every one of them gave him a blow; ſome were ſo furious with revenge, that they tore him with their teeth; there was not one but would have a piece of him, ſo that before he was got to the laſt bench, there was ſcarce the leaſt bit of him left. A renegado of Melazzo in Sicily did not meet with a better treatment; under him, ſeveral corſairs had ſurprized and plundered that little place, carried off ſeveral inhabitants of both ſexes; and, to add laſciviouſneſs to robbery, an infamous wretch, one Marabout had

had raviſhed ſome young Chriſtian virgins; of which, the gallies of Malta, in conjunction with thoſe of Sicily, having advice, they purſued after the pirates, but could not come up with them. After this attempt, the ſquadrons ſeparated; and the Malteſe gallies being lighter than the Sicilian, and their crews freſher, came up with the principal galley of the corſairs, which had the booty and ſlaves on board. As a ſingle galley, which ſhould pretend to reſiſt a whole ſquadron, would probably only expoſe itſelf to be ſunk, the infidels ſtruck immediately. The prior of Barletto, who commanded on this occaſion, ſet the Chriſtian ſlaves at liberty, put fourſcore Turks to the oar in their ſtead, and brought back to Melazzo the men and women who had been carried off from thence. The people, after having made him their acknowledgments in their way by great ſhouts and rejoicings, deſired him to deliver up into their hands the renegado their countryman, who had guided the corſairs, and that inſolent fellow Marabout, who had abuſed their daughters. The prior accordingly gave up the two villians, and the mob in a rage did juſtice upon them with their own hands, and tore them to pieces in a moment. Romegas, who was then at ſea, gave more favourable treatment to a gallion which he met near the iſland of Scarpento, an iſland lying between thoſe of Candia and Rhodes. This gallion came from Satalia, and was commanded by Rais Seid Mahomet Ugly, an officer of courage, and who had a great number of brave old ſoldiers on board. Romegas had at that time but two gallies, which belonged to the grand maſter; and the chevalier de la Motte commanded the leſſer. This knight, whoſe veſſel was the lighter of the two, began the engagement: Romegas coming up, and drawing near the gallion, ſurveyed it carefully, and ſeeing it well provided with artillery, and the deck covered with musketeers, he plainly perceived, that in caſe he did not change the manner of the attack, it would be impoſſible for ten ſuch gallies as thoſe which he commanded, to take that ſtately veſſel, which was ſo high,

that

that it looked like a floating caſtle in compariſon of the gallies. But as the knights never regarded the number and forces of their enemies; and as Romegas's temper was ſuch, that he had rather die than that any body ſhould be able to reproach him juſtly with having quitted an enterprize he had once engaged in, he reſolved to cannonade this great carrack at a diſtance. Happily a calm ſucceeded, which hindered it from making any way; and the two gallies, advancing near the gallion by the help of their oars, poured a broad-ſide into it, and made off; and then charging again, returned with the ſame agility to fire another. Romegas taking his advantage of the calm, continued this way of fighting ſo long, that the gallion after having loſt abundance of men by his guns and musquetry, was forced to ſtrike. The knights boarding it, found it was laden with rich merchandize: but they had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of it when it ſunk, having received ſome ſhot in its upper works; and all that they could do was to ſave the men, among whom was a venerble old man, ſeventy-eight years of age, who was ſangiac of Grand Cairo; and near 600 perſons, Turks, Moors, and Negroes, who, like him, were all bound for Conſtantinople.

WHILST the knights of Malta were continually expoſing their lives againſt the infidels, the roman catholic church aſſembled in a general council at Trent, where its prelates exerted all their zeal and learning to oppoſe the innovations of the proteſtants. The grand maſter was alſo invited thither, as well as the other ſovereigns of Chriſtendom. This prince, and the council of Malta, deputed the chevaliers de Villegagnon, and Royas de Portalrouge, to go thither in quality of embaſſadors of the order. The former could not attend, by reaſon of his great age, and a ſevere fit of ſickneſs that ſeized him; ſo that Royas went thither alone, who, before he could be admitted, had great difficulties to ſurmount, from the oppoſition of the body of biſhops, who repreſented, that it was not juſt, that a private religious, who was but deputy to a ſociety of lay brothers, ſhould have his ſeat among the

embaſ-

embaſſadors, and as ſuch, take place of the biſhops. The affair however was made up, and it was agreed, that the embaſſador of Malta ſhould be placed among the other embaſſadors of the Chriſtian princes, without prejudice however to the proteſts of the epiſcopal order: in conſequence of which regulation, Royas was admitted in the congregation that was held on the 7th of September A. D. 1563. He began his ſpeech by an apology for the grand maſter and council, for their not having ſent embaſſadors ſooner to the holy ſynod; the reaſon of which, he ſaid, was, that the iſland and channel of Malta were continually infeſted by corſairs, who ſeemed to be in expectation of the grand ſeignior's fleet, in order to attempt an entire conqueſt of the iſland. He next took notice of the original of the order, which, as he ſaid, had been founded forty years before the firſt cruſade. He next ſet forth the heroick exploits of their anceſtors, ſaying, that if they did not equal them at that time, it was owing to the proteſtants having ſeized on ſome of their commandries; as well as to the roman catholic prelates and princes, who, contrary to the uſage and privileges of the order, often got the pope to beſtow the richeſt priories and commanderies upon them. He entreated the fathers, in the name of the whole order, to conſider its antiquity, its nobility, and the ſervices it had done to Chriſtendom during a ſeries of ſo many ages, to order the commandries which had been uſurped to be reſtored, and to provide by a decree, that they ſhould not for the future be ever enjoyed by any body but the knights, according to their ſeniority; deſiring them at the ſame time, to paſs a ſolemn confirmation of all the privileges that had been granted to the order ever ſince its foundation.

THE proctor anſwered in general terms, and, in the name of the council, told him, that the fathers allowed his excuſe for the order, for its having been ſo long in ſending its embaſſadors; and that they would not be wanting in the preſervation of the commandries

and

and the privileges of the order, that was ſo uſeful to the church.

THE embaſſador preſented ſome memorials to the legates of the council, relating to the confirmation of the immunities of the order; and particularly to get a decree, to diſqualify all perſons, of what dignity ſoever, from enjoying any priories and commandries, till after their having made the three vows of their inſtitution, in the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. The legates durſt not propoſe ſuch a decree in the congregation, till ſuch time as they had firſt conſulted the pope about it, and were acquainted with his intentions. Accordingly, they wrote to him upon that ſubject; but Pius IV. who then ſat in the papal chair, and who was very vigilant to let nothing paſs in the council that might limit his authority, was not ignorant that ſeveral of his predeceſſors had claimed a right of collating to the priories and commandries which fell vacant at the court of Rome, or within their territories; though indeed ſeveral other popes had made contrary declarations in favour of the order. He therefore wrote back to his legates, that the decree for which the grand maſter was ſoliciting, did not concern the council, and that it was no body's buſineſs, but his, to make ſuch a regulation, when he ſhould judge proper; and after the breaking up of the council, which had always given him a great deal of uneaſineſs, he entirely forgot the knights of Malta, and the continual ſervices they were doing the Chriſtian world, particularly to the people who inhabited the coaſts of Sicily, Naples, Italy, and Spain, the laſt eſpecially, who, ſince the concluſion of the council, had been put in a ſtate of ſecurity, by the ſhare the order had in the taking of Gomera de Velez, a place ſituated on the coaſt of Barbary, and not above forty leagues diſtant from Spain.

THIS harbour indeed was not capable of holding great ſhips, but it conſtantly ſent out a number of tarts and galiots; and whenever they fitted out more conſiderable ſquadrons, the king of Fez, their neighbour, furniſhed them with ſoldiers, drawn chiefly out of the moun-

mountainous country adjoining; all of them bold fellows, and fearleſs of danger, when booty was the prize. About a mile from this town lay Pignon de Velez, in a little iſle, or rather a rock, to which there is no going up, but by a way hewn in the rock itſelf; which is divided from the continent by nothing but a very narrow channel, that ſerves for a kind of port to it, and which can hold no more than ten or twelve little veſſels at moſt. This fort was a great ſecurity to the corſairs, who, whenever they were purſued, uſed to retire thither, as the cannon of the place kept their enemies at a diſtance. The king of Spain had made an unſucceſsful attempt upon it the year before; but reſuming the ſame deſign this year, he aſſembled all his naval forces: after which he wrote in very preſſing terms to the grand maſter, and to ſeveral princes of Italy his allies, deſiring them to join their gallies with his. With theſe ſeveral ſquadrons he made up a ſtrong fleet, the command of which he gave to Don Garſia de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia, who had the direction of the enterpriſe. This general ſet ſail from the port of Malaga on the 10th of Auguſt, with a favourable wind, and, arriving in two days on the coaſt of Barbary, landed his troops and artillery without any oppoſition. The van-guard was compoſed of Spaniſh troops and the knights of Malta; the Portugueze and Italians made the main body; and the Germans were put in the rear. The Chriſtian army marching in good order, advanced up to the town of Gomera, which was not above ſix miles from the place of their landing. The Chriſtian general, in order to cut off all communication between this town and the garriſon of Pignon, and to prevent their receiving any ſuccours from thence, reſolved to begin his enterpriſe with the ſiege of that place. Gomera, like moſt of the inland towns of Barbary, was without any fortifications, and lay between two hills. The inhabitants had abandoned it upon the approach of the Chriſtians, and were fled with what they could carry off into the faſtneſſes of the mountains. Garſia taking advantage of their

con-

conſternation, ſeized upon the town; and fortifying his camp with lines and good redoubts, he raiſed a battery of ſix great cannon upon an adjacent hill, which played upon the fort for a whole day together; at the ſame time that the gallies of Malta, and a great gallion battered it ſo furiouſly from the ſea, that a large pannel of the wall, and part of the tower, or plat-form, were demoliſhed. The governor in a fright, ſeeing no ſuccours appear, reſolved to abandon the place, and fly away with his family, and his moſt conſiderable effects. He had a little skiff or boat to carry them, which was hid at the foot of the rock; but fearing leſt the garriſon ſhould either ſtop him, or offer to follow him, he told them that he was going to raiſe the mountaineers, that he would put himſelf at their head, and would either loſe his life in the attempt, or force the Chriſtians to raiſe the ſiege, meantime the garriſon, which conſiſted only of thirty men, ſeeing no effect of his promiſes, and not troubling themſelves about defending a place, which had been deſerted by its governor, conſulted only their own ſafety. Such ſoldiers as could ſwim got to ſhore at as great a diſtance as poſſible from the Chriſtian camp; and ſuch as could not opened the gates, and ſurrendered up the fort. Thus a place, which was looked upon as impregnable, and which the year before had held out againſt all the forces of Spain, was taken in a few days; this victory was as much owing to the cowardice of the governor, as to the valour and capacity of the Chriſtian general.

THE noiſe of this conqueſt gave a terrible alarm to all the corſairs of Barbary, who carried the news to Conſtantinople, where they complained about it to Solyman; to whom they repreſented, that as the Spaniards were maſters of Goletta, Pignon de Velez, and Tunis, they kept all the coaſt of Barbary, as it were, in chains. Solyman ſignified to them, that he would break them in a little time; and, as they infomed him that the Malteſe gallies had greatly contributed to the reducing of the place, he reſolved, in order to ſecure the

liberty of Barbary, to begin by the conqueſt of the iſle of Malta; and from that time, without communicating his deſign to any body but his miniſters, he made preparations with all poſſible ſecrecy, for the fitting out of a ſtrong naval force; the effects of which were felt in the following year. Another fine prize, which the knights took a little after, raiſed the grand ſeignior's reſentment to the higheſt pitch, and made him more eager in fitting out his armada. After the taking of Pignon de Velez, the five gallies of the order, commanded by general de Giou, and the grand maſter's two gallies, under the particular command of Romegas, joining together, and cruiſing in company, met between the iſlands of Zante and Cephalonia, with a ſtrong galliot, laden with the richeſt commodities of the eaſt, and mounted with twenty large braſs cannon, and a great number of a leſſer ſize, having a body of good officers of artillery, and above 200 janizaries on board, all of them excellent arquebuſiers. This veſſel was commanded by rais or captain Bairan-Ogli, and belonged to the kiſlir-aga, chief of the black eunuchs of the ſeraglio. This eunuch was the miniſter of his maſter's pleaſures, and the guardian of thoſe young ladies and beauties who were reſerved for his uſe, ſeveral of whom had a ſhare in the galliot. General Giou, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a ſquadron of ſeven gallies, firſt fired a cannon without ball, to make the captain of the veſſel bring to; but the Turks anſwered him with a ball, and immediately hoiſted up their flag, and all their colours, by way of defiance, and as a declaration of their being reſolved to fight.

GENERAL Giou, and the commander Romegas, finding there was no likelihood of their taking the veſſel but by force of arms, agreed to attack it firſt themſelves; that after they had poured in their broad-ſides as cloſe as poſſible, the two commodores ſhould be relieved by two other gallies, and theſe again by the three laſt, ſo as to make a continual fire without any intermiſſion. But this order of battle was ill obſerved, from the jealouſy and emulation of the two generals,

who,

who, forgetting their firſt agreement of acting together in concert, each ſtrove to engroſs the whole honour of the victory to himſelf. De Giou's galley coming up under the ſtern of this great veſſel, was covered in a moment with fire-works; the knights and ſoldiers were plied warmly with volleys of ſtones and musket-ſhot: and the cannon, loaded with cartridges, made ſuch havock amongſt them, that the general was forced to remove to ſome diſtance. Romegas, on his ſide, attacked the gallion with his uſual intrepidity; but a ball, which was ſhot from it, demoliſhed the wale of his galley, and killed two and twenty of his men; and by another, twenty more of them were forced to leap into the ſea. Romegas, fearing he ſhould be ſunk by a great cannon which he ſaw was levelled to take him betwixt wind and water, thought proper, though ſore againſt his will, to retire further off; after which, the two next gallies advanced in their turn, and in concert fell upon the gallion, each on its ſide, and poured in ſuch a terrible fire, that they killed and diſabled ſeveral of the janizaries: but thoſe brave fellows, who were part of a body of troops, in which the chief force of the Turkiſh empire conſiſts, fought on with the ſame intrepidity. The three laſt gallies were then forced to advance to the ſuccour of the reſt; and the two commodores, getting their gallies in readineſs, returned to the engagment with new fury. The battle laſted five whole hours before any judgment could be formed of the iſſue of it; and, notwithſtanding the great bravery of the knights, they would perhaps have been forced to retire with loſs, had the Turks been able to make uſe of all their artillery. But unfortunately for them, their beſt pieces, by the avarice of the merchants, were encumbered among the bales of goods, ſo that they were of no uſe to them; and the gallies making a ſuperior fire, the knights at laſt boarded the veſſel, and made themſelves maſter of it. The victory was bloody; for above ſixſcore Chriſtians, either knights or ſoldiers, loſt their lives in it: among the former, thoſe chiefly regreted were la Fonde, a Provençal; Berzet an Italian,

and Pacieco a Spaniard; Anthony Fernandes, Poſſelin and Diego d'Ineſtroſa were mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards at Saragoſſa: Fernando Ruis de Correali, Ernand de Zuniga, Jerom Caraffa, a Neapolitan, and a great many more, were wounded in this long and obſtinate engagement. The Turks, beſides their wounded, loſt fourſcore janizaries, and ſeveral officers; particularly an engineer, who, by his courage and skill in pointing the cannon, had contributed more to their making this gallant defence, than even the captain of the gallion himſelf.

THIS capture made a greater noiſe at Conſtantinople, eſpecially in the ſeraglio, than the loſs of an important place would have done. The kiſſir-aga, and the odaliſchi, or favourites of the grand ſeignior, who had ſhares in it, threw themſelves at the ſultan's feet, and entreated him to revenge them on the knights. Solyman, looking upon this capture as an inſult offered to his own houſhold, ſwore by his head, that he would extirpate the order; and in order to comfort the ladies, and the kiſſir-aga, for their loſs, he indemnified them by making them rich preſents out of his own coffers. The greateſt part of his officers, and the Mahometan prieſts, entered into his reſentment; and the mufti, their chief, repreſented to him in a private audience, that as all muſulmen were obliged to go once in their lives to viſit their prophet's tomb, it would be impoſſible for his European ſubjects to diſcharge that duty any longer, without expoſing themſelves to be taken by the Chriſtian corſairs; that Malta was crouded with Turkiſh ſlaves; and that a prince, who had ſo high a ſenſe of religion, and whom providence had raiſed to ſo eminent a degree of power, ought to ſcruple the leaving ſo great a number of the faithful in ſlavery, and expoſed to the danger of changing their religion. The kiſſir-aga, who was more incenſed than any body elſe, and who carried on all this intrigue, in order to determine the grand ſeignior to lay aſide all other enterpriſes, and to fall upon the iſland of Malta, engaged the iman, or preacher of the principal moſque, cunningly

ningly to inſinuate a diſcourſe upon that ſubject into his ſermon. Solyman, who was a religious prince, going thither the Friday following, which is the Turkiſh ſabbath, this orator, under the pretence of treating of the charity which ought to be ſhewn to the poor and wretched, introduced himſelf by deploring the diſgrace and wretched ſtate of thoſe muſulmen who were in ſlavery among the Chriſtians. He did this at firſt in general terms; then, directing his diſcourſe to the grand ſeignior, he, after extolling his valour, his conqueſts, and the mildneſs of his government, in ſuch a manner as they juſtly deſerved, added, that there was nothing wanting to complete his glory but only the delivering of ſuch a great number of unhappy muſulmen, as had been deprived of their fortunes and liberty by the Malteſe. He afterwards entered into the particulars of all their captures, of which, 'tis probable, they had furniſhed him with an exact account; and ſhewed, that their rovers had, within the laſt five years, taken upwards of fifty veſſels laden with the richeſt commodities of the eaſt; not to mention the feluccas, brigantines, gallies, and galiots employed in the cruiſing ſervice: "theſe veſſels, ſays he to him, together with "their cargoes and the men on board, have been all "ſeized by thoſe mercileſs corſairs; and nothing, Sir, "but your invincible ſword can reſcue ſo many poor "creatures out of ſlavery: the ſon calls upon you to "reſtore him his father, and the wife her husband or "her children: all, all expect from your juſtice and "power, the vengeance which is due to their cruel "enemies."

SUCH a bold and pathetic diſcourſe, raiſed a confuſed murmuring in the congregation, which at laſt broke out into loud complaints, contrary to what is generally practiſed in their moſques, where a profound ſilence is always obſerved. Solyman ſeemed ſurpriſed and troubled at this unuſual incident; but being told the reaſon of it, he, in order to quiet the people, ſignified to them by his grand vizier, that they ſhould have their revenge and ſatisfaction in a little time; and accordingly

cordingly went out of the moſque fully reſolved, in caſe he was not prevented by the Hungarian war, to fall with all his forces upon Malta.

SOLYMAN had for a long time been warmly ſollicited to undertake this enterpriſe by Haſſan baſha, the viceroy of Algiers, ſon and ſucceſſor to the famous Barbaroſſa; and by Dragut, governor of Tripoli.* Both of theſe had frequently remonſtrated to him, particularly ſince the taking of Pignon de Velez, that the Chriſtians, unleſs ſome remedy ſhould be fallen upon, would infallibly make themſelves maſters of all the coaſt of Barbary; that ſo long as Malta ſhould continue in the hands of the knights, it would be impoſſible to ſend out any reinforcements to them, or for them to receive any from their reſpective governments, without running a great hazard of their being intercepted; and that this iſland, which was no more than a rock, was the only barrier that braved his power, and which, by the privateers and ſquadrons that it ſent out, was continually interrupting the communication of Barbary with Aſia and the iſles of the Archipelago.

SOLYMAN was ſenſible of the importance of this conqueſt; but as it might be attended with difficulties, he, like a prudent and wiſe prince, would not engage in it till ſuch time as he had conſulted his principal generals. For this purpoſe, he, according to the Turkiſh cuſtom, held a great council of war on horſeback in the open field. The firſt thing debated in it was the neceſſity they were under of driving the knights out of an iſland, where they diſturbed the commerce of the grand ſeignior's ſubjects, and interrupted the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. They agreed, that their religion, as well as the ſtate, were equally intereſted in their extirpation. After this, the next point examined was the means of putting this project in execution.

THE greateſt part of the baſhas, who gueſſed at the ſultan's inclinations, like true courtiers, told him that the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes, might aſſure him of ſucceſs

* De Thou, Hiſt. l. 37.

ſucceſs in the enterpriſe of Malta; that the knights, whom they called a pack of raſcally corſairs, would never be able to hold out againſt the moſt inconſiderable part of the forces of his empire; and that he had no more to do than to ſend the gallies of Algiers and Tripoli, with a body of troops, to ſeize on ſome forts, which thoſe rovers had built for the ſecurity of the ports and coaſts of the iſland.

ALY, one of Dragut's lieutenants, whom he had ſent on purpoſe to Conſtantinople, was preſent at this council, and repreſented in the name of his general, that in caſe they ſhould make their firſt attempt by beſieging Malta, there was no doubt but the knights would receive conſiderable ſuccours from Goletta, Pignon de Velez, and from the Moors of Tunis, who were vaſſals to the crown of Caſtile, and enemies to the Turkiſh government; that Dragut was of opinion, they ſhould open the campaign with the ſieges of Goletta, and Pignon de Velez; and that when they ſhould have cleared the coaſt of Barbary of the Chriſtians, and reduced the inhabitants of the country, they then might employ the grand ſeignior's troops the year following in beſieging Malta. Mahomet, the moſt antient of all the baſhas, an old experienced general, who was afterwards advanced to the dignity of grand vizier, was entirely againſt the enterpriſe of Malta; and, beſides the reaſons which Dragut's agent had alledged, he urged, that there was a great difference between the iſle of Rhodes and that of Malta; that the former was ſituated in the midſt of his territories, at a great diſtance from Europe, and out of the way of all ſuccour from the Chriſtians; and as its ſoil afforded plenty of corn and paſture, it eaſily furniſhed ſubſiſtence for his army: whereas, on the contrary, as Malta lay near Sicily, it could receive ſuccours from thence every moment, and that the king of Spain, who conſidered it as the bulwark of his Italian dominions, would not fail to employ all his forces to relieve it; that moſt of the Chriſtian princes would enter into the war, out of a principle of religion; that they would meet with nothing

in Malta, but a steep barren rock, without either corn or pasture ground, and a body of brave knights to defend it, who were all resolved to die in the spot, rather than surrender; and that, even supposing they should take it, they yet ought to be sure of getting subsistence for the army, whilst they should be repairing the old fortifications, and making new ones; that they had reason to be apprehensive of a new crusade, and a league between the princes of Christendom, who, in that case, would be able to send a numerous fleet in the spring with fresh troops on board, to block up the Turkish vessels in the isle of Malta; and that it would redound much more to the grand seignior's glory, and be more advantageous to his empire, to employ his troops in Hungary, or to attempt the conquest of Italy; nor indeed could he do better than to begin with Sicily; which being reduced, Malta would fall of course into his hands; and that after all, without his engaging in such a difficult enterprize as that proposed against the knights of St. John, they might easily provide for the security of the merchants of the sultan's empire, and the pilgrims, who went out of devotion to Mahomet's tomb, by sending out convoys along with them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solidity of these reasons, Solyman, who was easily wrought upon by motives of conscience, and who, moreover, was touched with the complaints and tears of his favourites, declared himself for the enterprise of Malta: the hopes too of raising his glory might probably have determined him to undertake it; and that after driving the knights out of Rhodes, and the other isles of the Archipelago, which depended on it, and the castles and lands they possessed upon the continent of Asia Minor, he might have flattered himself, that the conquest of Malta would make his name famous, and his power formidable in Europe and Africa. Whatever might be his motives, he sent express orders over all his empire for equipping all the ships and gallies that could be found in his ports fit for the sea service. Uluchialy, a Calabrian renegado,

renegado, brought him ſeveral from Alexandria; the governor of Rhodes furniſhed what gallies he had; and Haſſan and Dragut, baſhas or viceroys of Algiers and Tripoli, were ordered to join the Ottoman fleet, with all the corſairs of Barbary, as ſoon as they ſhould hear of its arrival before Malta. Whilſt theſe preparations were carrying on, he ſent ſome able engineers thither in the habit of fiſhermen, who, under pretence of throwing their lines into the ditches, and ſelling their fiſh in the town, viewed the fortifications, and the height of the walls, and took an exact plan of the place, which the grand ſeignior laid before his generals.

OUT of theſe he made choice of two to head this expedition; viz. Pialy and Muſtapha. Although Pialy's extraction was unknown, he yet had a great ſhare in this prince's favour, who had married him to one of his grand-children. Solyman, returning from his firſt campaign in Hungary, and after the taking of Belgrade, had found him in ſwadling clothes, lying upon a plough-ſhare, where probably his mother had left him in her fright at the march of the army. The grand ſeignior, who diverted himſelf with hunting on the road, gave orders that he ſhould be brought to him, and, finding in his features which were not yet formed, ſomething that pleaſed him, he took care to give him a good education; and, after he had paſſed gradually through all the poſts of his army, he gave him one of his grand-daughters. He made him likeways baſha of the ſea, and as ſuch he had the general command of the fleet on this occaſion.

MUSTAPHA, who had acquired Solyman's eſteem and confidence by ſeveral conſiderable victories which he had gained, was appointed general of the land-forces. He was an old officer, aged threeſcore and five; was harſh and ſevere in command, cruel and bloody to all ſuch enemies as fell into his hands; and, particularly, was not aſhamed to glory in breaking his word and oath with the Chriſtians. Solyman, who had an equal confidence in both theſe generals, recommended

mended to them to live in good understanding with one another, to act always in concert, and above all, not to attempt any thing without first consulting Dragut, whom he considered not only as a sworn enemy to the knights, but as the greatest seaman he had then in his empire.

THE fitting out such numbers of ships and gallies; the marching of troops from all quarters to the ports of the Morea, and the various motions which were made all over the Ottoman empire, gave great uneasiness to those Christian princes, whose territories lay near those of the grand seignior; though they were ignorant at the same time where the storm would fall. Some pretended that this armada was designed against the fort of Goletta, which was the key of the kingdom, and particularly of the city of Tunis; or else against Pignon de Velez, which likeways opened an entrance into the kingdom of Algiers; others suspected, that this enterprise was intended against Malta only; and this opinion was confirmed by various letters that came from the Levant. In this uncertainty, the king of Spain, being particularly interested in the preservation and defence of Malta, as it served for a bulwark to Sicily, ordered the viceroy Don Garsia de Toledo to pass by Malta in his way to Goletto, and confer about it with the grand master. They communicated to each other all the different advices they had received, and agreed, in case of an attack, to assist one another with all their forces; and as the grand master represented to him the want he should be in both of corn and soldiers, in case he should be forced to sustain a siege, the viceroy promised, upon his return into Sicily, to send him a considerable quantity, with two companies of Spanish soldiers; and, in the mean time, left one of his sons with him, as it were in hostage, for the performance of his word, who afterwards took the habit of the order.

HE was but just gone from Malta, when fresh advices arrived from some trusty spies, whom the grand master kept at Constantinople: by their letters they assured

aſſured him, that the Turks would infallibly open the campaign with the ſiege of Malta, and, that after reducing the whole iſland, which Solyman took for granted, he had given orders to his generals to go into Africa, and employ all his forces to drive out the Spaniards from thence.

THE grand maſter was not in the leaſt daunted at the news; however, he communicated it to the council of the order, and, by their conſent, ſent a general ſummons to all the knights who were diſperſed up and down the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to repair forthwith to Malta. The agents whom the order employed in Italy levied a body of 2000 foot, and the viceroy of Sicily ſent the two Spaniſh companies he had promiſed him. The ſhips and gallies of the order were, till the beginning of the ſiege, continually employed in tranſporting arms, powder, ammunition and proviſions to Malta; and the knights were daily arriving there in conſiderable numbers, eager to diſcharge the obligations of their profeſſion, to ſignalize their zeal and courage againſt the infidels.

LA VALETTE made moſt of theſe knights captains and officers, who, by his order, diſciplined the inhabitants of the towns and country, and formed them into new companies of ſoldiers fit for ſervice; the greateſt part of them being good arquebuſiers, and there being very few among them but what had been out a cruiſing, and ſerved on board the gallies of the order. Theſe companies made up a body of 4000 foot; the grand maſter diſtributed them into different poſts, where there was occaſion for them; and that he might not omit any thing which might poſſibly contribute to his defence, he ſent copies of the letters he had received from Conſtantinople to the pope, and to moſt of the Chriſtian princes, to repreſent to them the danger with which the order was threatned, and to deſire them to ſend ſuccours to the knights, who wanted them only, to make head againſt the formidable enemy of all Chriſtendom. Pius IV. who then ſat upon the papal throne, paid in a ſum of 10,800 crowns to

Cambian,

Cambian, the Malteſe embaſſador at Rome. Nothing was to be got from France, which was at this time weakned with inteſtine wars and diviſions; but the king of Spain, out of fear leſt the Turks ſhould advance ſo near Sicily, reſolved to employ all his forces to keep them at a diſtance. He wrote to his miniſters in Italy, and to ſeveral princes of that nation, his allies, to form immediately a body of 20,000 foot, which ſhould be ready to embark upon the firſt accounts of the deſigns of the infidels; and, by the ſame expreſs, he ordered the viceroy of Sicily to take as much care for the defence of Malta, as he would uſe for the preſervation of Sicily itſelf.

THE viceroy, perſuaded that in the anxiety the grand maſter muſt needs be in, the giving him aſſurance that he would ſend him ſuccours, would be in a manner the ſame as if he actually ſent them him, imparted to him the orders he had received from the court of Madrid. The grand maſter could not help being pleated with ſuch fine promiſes; however, he did not depend upon them ſo far, as to neglect preparing himſelf to ſuſtain all the efforts of the formidable power of the Turks, with the forces of the order only. The perils which he foreſaw were inevitable, ſerved only to inſpire him with greater bravery: he was informed with a reſolution that was ſuperior to all events; his natural courage had inſpired him with a noble indifference for life; he had paſſed ſucceſſively through all the employments of the order, and this gradual riſe to new dignities had always been the teſtimony and recompence of the many memorable actions, which at laſt raiſed him to the dignity of grand maſter.

SUCH was brother John de la Valette, whoſe character will be better known by the relation of the ſiege of Malta, than by all that could be ſaid before hand, of that magnanimity and courage, which diſtinguiſhed him in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. Purſuant to the general ſummons, and in obedience to his orders, upwards of ſix hundred knights, were already arrived at Malta, moſt of them attended with domeſtics, who

were

were brave in their perſons, and who afterwards proved good ſoldiers. Such commanders as could not leave their provinces, by reaſon of their age or infirmities, not being able to go thither in perſon, generouſly ſent the beſt part of their effects to Malta; and ſome old priors were ordered by the grand maſter to ſtay in Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, and about the perſon of the viceroy of Sicily, in order to haſten the ſuccours he had promiſed, and to forward the embarkation of ſome French, Spaniſh, and German knights, who were not yet ſet out from their reſpective provinces. The grand maſter received them all with that pleaſure which a good father feels upon ſeeing his children again, and had taken care to provide lodgings and ſubſiſtence for them beforehand. In all the vaſt variety, as well as importance, of the ſeveral affairs he had to manage, nothing was able to diſconcert him; he would himſelf be acquainted with every ſingle circumſtance, and entered into the minuteſt particularities; he diſcharged, at the ſame time, the offices of ſoldier, captain, officer of the artillery, overſeer of the ſick, and engineer; with the ſame hand that he traced out a new fortification, he acted the pioneer in throwing up the ground; he was ever in motion, and in ſeveral places, as it were, at the ſame time; now he was among the workmen, the next moment he was viſiting the magazines, and then immediately at the infirmary, buſying himſelf in relieving the ſick. Upon ſome freſh letters he received from different places, confirming the former accounts that had been ſent him, relating to the deſign the Turks had upon Malta, he aſſembled the knights who were then in the convent, in order to acquaint them with their contents; nor did he, on this occaſion, either leſſen the greatneſs of the danger to which they were expoſed, or the uncertainty of the ſuccour with which they had been flattered. "A formidable army, (ſays "he to them, with an heroic boldneſs,) and an infi-"nite multitude of Barbarians, are coming to thunder "down upon us; they are, my brethren, enemies to "Jeſus Chriſt; it is our buſineſs to ſtand up manfully

" in defence of the faith; and if the goſpel muſt ſub-
" mit to the alcoran, God, on this occaſion, demands
" back of us a life which we have already devoted to
" him by our profeſſion; thrice happy they who ſhall
" firſt fall a ſacrifice to ſo good a cauſe. But in order
" to make ourſelves worthy of that honour, let us go,
" my brethren, to the altar, there to renew our vows,
" and partake of the bleſſed ſacraments, and let the
" blood of the ſaviour of mankind inſpire us with ſuch
" a noble contempt of death, as can alone make us
" invincible."

HE ſet forwards at the ſame time towards the church, attended by all his knights, where the holy ſacrament was at that time expoſed. Not a knight among them all but was zealous to follow the grand maſter's example; they employed that and the following days in going to confeſſion, and in partaking of the bleſſed euchariſt; and they all roſe from the lord's table like new men. By their partaking of that ſtrengthening food, all their weakneſſes were repaired, all diviſions, all private reſentments, were now laid aſide; and, what was ſtill more difficult, they broke off all their tender engagements, ſo dear to the heart of man. From that day they left off all correſpondence with perſons of a different ſex, how innocent ſoever it might be; they were dead to all views of intereſt or ambition; the certain danger to which they were expoſed, and the conſideration of death, which was in a manner unavoidable, had revived in them a contempt of life, and all the other virtues of their predeceſſors; they all embraced each other with that tenderneſs, which charity inſpires, and proteſted that they would loſe the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of their religion and altars.

THE grand maſter was overjoyed to find them in this excellent diſpoſition; and, in order not to be prevented, and ſurpriſed by the enemy, he reſolved to aſſign every language the poſts which they were to defend. For the better underſtanding of this diſtribution of the ſeveral employments, and of the actions which happen-

happened in ſeveral parts of the iſland, it may not perhaps be improper, notwithſtanding our having already given ſome account of the ſituation of Malta, in the foregoing book, to give a more particular one in this place.

MALTA is an iſland ſituated between Sicily and Africa, in the 39th degree of longitude, and the 35th of latitude. It is the moſt ſouthern iſle in Europe, lying about ſixty miles from cape Paſſaro, and two hundred and ſeventy from Tripoli in Africa. Its circumference is ſixty miles, its length twenty, and its breadth about twelve. It is waſhed on the eaſt by the ſea, which lies towards the iſland of Candia; it has the little iſles or rocks of Pantalorea, Linoſa, and Lampadusa on the weſt; Sicily on the north, and the kingdom of Tunis on the ſouth. On the ſouth coaſt towards Tripoli, nothing is to be ſeen but great rocks, without either roads or ports; but we meet eaſtward with the road of Marza-Scala; and turning back on the right towards the ſouth-weſt, we find another road or creek called Marza-Sirocco, capable of holding ſeveral veſſels. In going ſtill forward, towards the ſouth-weſt, we meet with two large bays, the one called Antifega, and the other Muſiarro; and at the extremity of the iſland, on that ſide weſtward, there is a creek very proper for ſhips to ride in, called Meleca, which is divided from the iſle of Goza by a channel about four miles over. In the midſt of this channel lie the little iſles of Comino and Cominote. If we coaſt along the iſland, when we come to that part of it which lies over againſt Sicily, we meet with the road of St. Paul, ſo called, becauſe the ſhip in which that apoſtle was carried priſoner to Rome, was driven thither by a ſtorm; and the road of St. George, which looks towards the North, is not far from that of St. Paul. Laſtly, as we go on towards that part of the iſland, which lies directly oppoſite to cape Paſſaro, we meet with two large ports, one of which lying on the left is called Marza Muſet, or port Muſet; in the middle whereof lies a ſmall iſland, near which all ſhips coming from

the Levant, or ſuſpected places, are obliged to perform quarantine; the other is called barely Marza, or the great port, and lies towards the eaſt.

THESE two ports are ſeparated by a narrow ſlip of land, upon which the prior of Capua, as was before obſerved, built the fort of St. Elmo, to defend the entrance of them both. In the great port there are two narrow ſlips of land, parallel to each other, which run out into the ſea in the form of two fingers, and are of a much greater length than breadth. The caſtle of St. Angelo was built on the extremity of that which lies neareſt the mouth of the harbour, and was the only fort that was on the iſland at the time when the knights took poſſeſſion of it. The grand maſter de l'Iſle-Adam had fortified it with new ramparts, baſtions, and ditches; it had likeways been ſupplied with ciſterns, an arſenal, and magazines. This caſtle had, ever ſince that time, been the reſidence of the grand maſters; but in this juncture, la Valette took up his lodging in the town, the better to have an opportunity of ſending ſuccours to all places where there might be occaſion. What they call Il Borgo, was a little town lying behind the caſtle of St. Angelo, wherein the whole body of the convent had ſettled itſelf.

WE have already obſerved, that upon the point of the other narrow ſlip of land or rock, which runs out into the great port, and which lies upon the left hand, they had built a fort with a town; and that it was called the iſle of La Sangle, after the name of the grand maſter who fortified it; though it was in reality no more than a peninſula. Between this town and the caſtle of St. Angelo, lay the port for the gallies, which was ſhut up every night with a great iron chain, that reached from the platform, at the foot of the caſtle of St. Angelo, to the point of the iſle de la Sangle, where it was faſtened with a large anchor, and was ſupported and carried croſs the water by empty casks and beams of timber laid croſs-ways at certain diſtances. In fine, behind this port de la Sangle, there was another, for ſuch foreign ſhips as reſorted to the iſland, either for

the

the ſake of commerce, or that were forced to put in for fear of the corſairs. I ſhall wave ſaying any thing in this place about the *Notable city*, the capital of the iſland, which I have already mentioned in the foregoing book; and ſhall only obſerve, that it lies about ſix or ſeven miles from the two great ports above mentioned, which, in all probability, was the reaſon of its not being firſt attacked, as the other places and forts of the iſland were.

SUCH was its ſituation, which we have deſcribed, only in order to enable the reader to form the better judgment of what paſſed during the courſe of the ſiege. The grand maſter, before the enemy appeared, was deſirous of knowing exactly what troops he had to oppoſe the infidels, in order to diſtribute them afterwards into the places and forts that ſhould be attacked. Accordingly he made a general review, and found that they conſiſted of about 700 knights, beſides ſerving brothers, and 8500 men, who were either ſoldiers of the gallies, and foreign troops in the ſervice of the order, or elſe townſmen and peaſants, who had been formed into companies. All the languages undertook to defend the ſeveral poſts that ſhould be aſſigned them, and the ſoldiers and militia were divided among them. The three languages of France had the guard of the town, the moſt important place of the iſland; and as it was of a large extent, they were joined by part of the language of Caſtile.

THE admiral de Monte, with all the knights of the language of Italy, undertook to defend the iſle de la Sangle. The language of Arragon, which comprehended the knights of that kingdom, and thoſe of the provinces of Catalonia and Navarre, took up all the quarter of the gate of Bormola, with the platform of earth adjoining to it. The language of England, part of that of Caſtile, with the Portugueſe and German knights, were poſted upon the mole towards the town, and extended themſelves as far as the ditch of the caſtle of St. Angelo. The commander Garzeranros, a Catalonian, was put with fifty knights, and five hundred

excellent ſoldiers in the caſtle; and the chevalier Meſguita, a Portugueſe, in the *Notable city*, which, being a poſt of great conſequence, they gave him, over and above the ordinary garriſon, five companies of the country militia, under the command of the commander Vagnon. The commander Romegas, ſo famous for his captures, and ſo terrible in the Mediterranean, undertook, with the ſoldiers of his gallies, to defend the entrance of the great port; and the commander Guiral, a Caſtilian, and excellently well skilled in the management of the artillery, raiſed a battery of nine cannon, to play upon the enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to break the chain that barred up the port where the gallies lay. The fort of St. Elmo had generally no more than ſixty ſoldiers garriſoned in it, under the command of the chevalier Broglio, an old Piedmonteſe officer; but before the enemy appeared, the commander Deguarras, bailiff of Negrepont, was thrown into it with ſixty knights; and the grand maſter, knowing the importance of that poſt, put likeways into it a company of Spaniſh foot, commanded by the chevalier John de la Cerda. The cruelties and havock the Turks had made in the iſle of Goza, before their going upon the expedition of Tripoli, made ſeveral knights of the council propoſe the demoliſhing of the caſtle, in order to prevent its falling a ſecond time into the hands of the infidels. But la Valette oppoſed it, and was of opinion, that they ought rather to augment the garriſon; maintaining, that it were to be wiſhed the enemy would firſt fall upon thoſe ſeparate forts, before they attacked the town and caſtle of St. Angelo, where the convent and the ſtrength of the order reſided; and that they would have juſt ſo much time as they ſhould employ in it, to wait for the coming of the ſuccours which they were promiſed; and that in caſe the remote poſts could but hold out till the end of September, the Turks would hardly be able to keep the ſea during that tempeſtuous ſeaſon. He added, the better to enforce his opinion, that as the caſtle of Goza, the *Notable city*, and the caſtle of St. Angelo, were all ſeated

ed

ed upon hills, which were pretty near of the ſame height, and which lay not far from one another, it would not be difficult, in caſe the Turkiſh fleet ſhould keep the mouth of the two ports blocked up, as undoubtedly they would, to make ſignals from theſe caſtles, and to advertiſe the order of all that paſſed at ſea, eſpecially when the ſuccours ſhould be coming up. He concluded by declaring, that they ſhould immediately ſend a governor to Goza; that they ſhould make choice of a man of reſolute courage for that purpoſe, who ſhould be capable of reſiſting the enemy as long as poſſible, and who, rather than ſubmit to a capitulation, ſhould ſacrifice his life for the preſervation of his order. All the council readily aſſented to the grand maſter's opinion; and, however dangerous that poſt might be, there was ſuch a noble emulation among the knights, that there was not an old officer but made great intereſt to procure it for himſelf, or at leaſt to ſerve under the perſon who ſhould be nominated to it. The grand maſter and council at laſt pitched upon the chevalier Torreglias, a Majorcan, whoſe valour and intrepidity, which had been tried on many occaſions, had juſtly qualified him for that employment.

BESIDES theſe various diſpoſitions, the commander Copier, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marſhal of the order, an old officer, was appointed to obſerve the fleet of the enemy, and to oppoſe their deſcents as far as lay in his power; to regulate his motions by theirs; and, when they ſhould land, to fall upon ſuch as ſhould ſtraggle from the main body of their army. He, in order to put theſe deſigns in execution, took with him a good number of knights, together with two hundred iſlanders on horſeback, and a body of ſix hundred foot; with theſe he coaſted along the ſea-ſhore, in all thoſe places where a deſcent ſeemed moſt practicable.

SUCH wiſe precautions were very neceſſary againſt ſo formidable a power as that of the Turks; but the main ſecurity of the iſland lay in the grand maſter's preſence, who always appearing with an air of tranquilli-

ty,

ty, and the ſame intrepid look, inſpired an heroic confidence into the knights and ſoldiers. He was continually viſiting the ſeveral poſts, fortifying thoſe places which he thought weakeſt, telling each commander the motions he was to make in caſe of an attack, and the places to which he ſhould ſucceſſively retire, in caſe of his being forced out of his poſt; and wherever he came, he left an impreſſion of his courage, that rendered his knights and ſoldiers invincible.

AT length the Turkiſh fleet appeared off of Malta on the 18th of May. It conſiſted of 159 veſſels with oars, as well gallies as galliots, having 30,000 land-forces on board, compoſed of janizaries, ſpahi's, and the braveſt ſoldiers of the Ottoman empire. The fleet was followed by a conſiderable number of ſhips of burden, laden with the heavy artillery, the horſes of the ſpahi's, and the ammunition and proviſions for the forces. The chief pilot ſailed half a mile before the reſt of the fleet, in order to view the coaſt, and to find a ſafe place for to put in at, and made an attempt to bring it into a creek or road called *Marza Sirocco*, which lies on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. But a Greek and Levant wind blowing at that time, he did not think proper to put in there; but firing two cannon-ſhot to give notice that they were not to ſtop there, he kept on his way, paſſed with all the fleet between the iſland of Malta and the rock of Forfola, and about ſunſet the Turks came to an anchor at the entrance of the creek or bay of Mugiarro. The marſhal Copier, at the head of 200 knights, and a thouſand arquebuſiers, advanced with as much diligence as poſſible, to oppoſe their deſcent; but the Turkiſh admiral, detaching five and thirty gallies of his rear-guard with 3000 men on board, in the night time, they landed without any oppoſition in the road of *St. Thomas*, called by others the *Port de l'Ecluelle*: on which occaſion it may not be improper to obſerve, that though moſt hiſtorians dignify the creeks and bays which are in this iſland with the title of ports, yet they are generally, if we except the great port, and port Muſſet, no more but ſo

many

many roads, which are at moſt ſheltered only from the land-winds.

WHILST the Turks were in the bay of Mugiarro, the chevalier de la Riviere planted himſelf with twelve knights in ambuſh behind ſome old rubbiſh, in hopes of ſurprizing ſome enemy who might be tempted to come aſhore. A Portugueſe knight, who had been ſent on the ſame ſide to get intelligence, diſcovering la Riviere, and advancing towards him, received a muſket-ball from a party of Turks who lay concealed in the neighbouring rocks, and died upon the ſpot. La Riviere, imagining he was only wounded, ran immediately to aſſiſt him; but the Turks firing another volley, diſperſed this little convoy, and, having killed his horſe, came up, and took him priſoner. They carried him immediately to the general, who examined him about the diſpoſition of the grand maſter and of the knights, and the number and condition of their forces. La Riviere anſwered, that the knights were all to a man reſolved to loſe the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of an iſland, which they conſidered as their country; that all the forts were manned with ſtrong garriſons, and well provided with ammunition and proviſions; and that they expected from all the Chriſtian princes of Europe a ſtrong fleet, either to give him battle, or force him to retreat. The Turkiſh general, looking upon this diſcourſe as a kind of bravado in his priſoner, commanded him to be put to the rack, in order to extort from him a more particular account of the ſtate of the iſland. The knight bore the torture for a long time with an heroic conſtancy; but, at laſt, as if he had been overcome by the rigour of the torments he ſuffered, he, affecting an ingenious air, owned to Muſtapha, that if Malta was to be taken, it could only be at the poſt of Caſtile, which he ſaid was the worſt fortified in the whole town, and indeed in the whole iſland.

THE baſha relying on the ſincerity of a confeſſion drawn from him, as he imagined, by the violence of the torture, reſolved to begin the ſiege of the town in

that

that quarter: but as he had a mind to reconnoitre the place himſelf before his engaging in the attempt, he ſent the chevalier de la Riviere loaded with irons on board a galley deſigned for the priſoners. The wind changing, all the fleet weighed anchor the night following, and with the lanthorns lighted ſtood for the bay of Marza Sirocco, where the army landed early in the morning in good order. The firſt thing the general did was to order the building of two redoubts on each ſide at the entrance of this large bay; after which, he put a good number of ſoldiers in them, and provided them with artillery for the ſecurity of his ſhips, as well as to keep the Chriſtian fleet at a diſtance. The Turkiſh army advanced afterwards higher up into the country, and encamped near a village called St. Catharine. Muſtapha, in order to take a view of the ſituation of the town, the caſtle of St. Angelo, and other forts, took ſome engineers with him, and went up an hill called *Mont Calcara*, from whence he had a proſpect of almoſt the whole iſland. He obliged the chevalier de la Riviere his priſoner to follow him, whom he commanded to point out to him the forts of St. Elmo and la Sangle, the caſtle of St. Angelo and the town, and to give him likewiſe an exact account of the fortifications in every place, and the number of troops that were poſted in them. The chevalier did not fail to make them twice as many as they were; but the baſha at length asking him which was the poſt of Caſtile, which he had repreſented as the weakeſt in the whole iſland, he had no ſooner ſhewn it him, but Muſtapha ſeeing it fortified with a large bulwark, a ravelin and caſemates at the bottom and in the ditch, was preſently convinced that la Riviere had impoſed upon him, and had only pointed out that place to him in order to make him miſcarry in his enterprize; this put him into ſuch a rage, that he gave him a blow with his cane, after which the ſoldiers of his guard knocked him on the head.

WHILST this cruel ſcene was acting upon Mont Calcara, the Turkiſh army ſpreading it ſelf over the country,

country, ſet fire to the villages, murdered the peaſants, and carried off the cattle which they had neglected to ſecure in time within the fortified places. The marſhal Copier was all this while obſerving the enemy narrowly, and whenever any of them happened to ſtraggle from the main body for the ſake of plunder, he fell upon them, and either cut them to pieces or took them priſoners; ſo that he, on two or three occaſions, and in different skirmiſhes, killed above 1500 of their men, without loſing above fourſcore of his own, among whom the chevalier d'Elbene, of an illuſtrious family in Florence, who was killed with a musket-ball, after having ſignalized himſelf in theſe private rencounters, was particularly regreted.

THE grand maſter permitted at firſt his ſoldiers to engage in theſe skirmiſhes with the Turks, in order to enter them as it were, and to accuſtom them to their looks and ſhouts; but as the reſult of theſe rencounters decided nothing, and that the leaſt loſs on his ſide would have been more prejudicial to him afterwards, than the killing of a much greater number of Turks could be of advantage, he recalled all his troops, and ſent them back to their reſpective poſts, judiciouſly reſerving them for the defence of ſuch forts as ſhould be attacked.

THE next day the Turks held a great council of war, in order to conſider of the place where they ſhould begin their attack. Admiral Piali, purſuant to the grand ſeignior's orders, was for attempting nothing till the arrival of Dragut, who was daily expected; but the baſha, who was uneaſy at what the chevalier de la Riviere had told him concerning the ſuccours that were preparing, maintained, that they, before they thought of conquering, ought, without loſing a moment of time, to take their meaſures ſo well, as to prevent their being ſurpriſed or vanquiſhed themſelves; that in caſe the Chriſtian army ſhould come ſuddenly upon them, the grand ſeignior's fleet would be blocked up in the creek in which it lay, and that ſuppoſing they ſhould have nothing of that nature to fear, it yet was not ſecured

from

from eaſterly winds; and therefore his opinion was, that they, without any further delay, ſhould immediately lay ſiege to the fort of St. Elmo; which, according to his calculation, could not hold out above five or ſix days; urging further, that they, by the taking of it, would become maſters of the port of Marza-Muzet, which was large enough to hold all their fleet; when this being once ſecured, they ſhould go on with more confidence to attack the other forts and places of the iſland. This advice was carried by a plurality of votes; and accordingly the ſiege of fort St Elmo was reſolved upon.

THIS fort, as we have already obſerved, was ſeated on the point of a rock, at the extremity of a narrow piece of land, which divides the two ports. It had been built by the prior of Capua; but he had made it too ſmall; and whether it were, that the order was not at that time able to defray the expences neceſſary for making it larger and more regular, or that the prior, at his placing it on the point of a rock, had conſidered it only with reſpect to the ſea, and the uſe that might be made of its batteries for defending the entrance of the harbour, the event ſhewed, that he had not enough reflected upon providing for its ſecurity on the land-ſide, he having built it in a place where the ground was ſo very ſtrait and narrow, that there was no making any out works, or adding the neceſſary fortifications to it. However, as the iſland is one continual rock, and only covered over in ſome places with a ſtony ſoil, two or three foot in depth, the Turkiſh engineers foreſaw, that the opening and carrying on of their trenches, would be a tedious and difficult work, and the rather, becauſe the fort was well ſupplied with artillery, and likewiſe that it would be impoſſible for them to hinder the grand maſter from ſending ſuccours to it in light barks, by the way of port Muset, and his relieving and changing the garriſon from time to time. What made their anxiety ſtill greater was, that the viceroy of Sicily gave out, tho' with much more oſtentation than real effect, that he would

would appear very ſoon before Malta, with the fleet of the king his maſter, in order to fight that of the ſultan, and give battle to his forces.

BUT the Turkiſh general, who was an excellent officer, not any way diſcouraged by theſe difficulties, reſolved to purſue his deſign. For this purpoſe, he firſt went to take a view of the place himſelf, after which, he brought on his troops, inveſted it on the land-ſide, and marked out the ſpot for his camp, and the ſeveral places where he would have his batteries erected. Hereupon his troops ſet to work about opening the trenches, and making their approaches: the baſha was laviſh of the lives of his pioneers; and, notwithſtanding the continual fire of the place, and the hardneſs of the rock upon which the fort was built, they at laſt covered themſelves in ſome places, and in others, where they could not cut the rock, he made them raiſe parapets, which ſerved inſtead of trenches, they being made with thick planks and beams, ſtuffed behind with earth, which they fetched at a great diſtance, and afterwards moiſtened; and, to cement it together, they mixed it with ruſh and ſtraw, and by that means formed a kind of wall which covered the ſoldiers.

THE Turks likewiſe, by help of the oxen they had taken in the iſland, carried their cannon as far as Mont St. Elmo; and, after raiſing their platforms, gabions and ſheds, the baſha, on the 24th of May, began to fire from a battery of ten cannon, which carried a ball of fourſcore pound weight. Beſides theſe cannon, he had two culverins that were ſixty pounders, and a baſilic, or great cannon, of a prodigious ſize, which 'tis pretended fired ſtone-bullets of 160 pound weight. This artillery made a dreadful fire; and though it was anſwered by that of the place, nevertheleſs, as the fort was ſmall and narrow, there was ſcarce a ſhot but beat down ſome part of its works and defences. The infidels ſtill increaſed their batteries; ſo that the bailiff of Negrepont, who commanded in it, ſaw plain enough, that it would ſoon be ruined by ſuch a continual fire; and that as the fortifications would be beat down, it

would be impoſſible for him to preſerve the fort, but by the number and courage of the garriſon.

WITH this notion, he ſent the chevalier la Cerda to deſire a reinforcement from the grand maſter; and, in order to obtain it, that knight, whoſe fear made him eloquent, greatly exaggerated the danger the place was in. The grand maſter ſeemed ſurpriſed at it; and what heightened his indignation againſt him was, his being ſo imprudent as to tell him in the preſence of a great number of knights, that he muſt not expect that a place, which was ſo weak, could poſſibly be tenable above a week longer. "Pray what loſs have you ſuſ-" tained, (replies the grand maſter) that you cry out " in this manner for ſuccours? Sir, anſwered la Cerda, " the caſtle is to be conſidered as a ſick perſon redu-" ced exceeding low, who cannot poſſibly be ſupport-" ed, but by continual remedies and cordials. I my-" ſelf (ſays the grand maſter, with a ſecret indignation) " will be the phyſician, and will take others with me, " who, if they cannot prevail ſo far as to cure you " of your fear, their bravery at leaſt ſhall prevent " the infidels from making themſelves maſters of the " caſtle.".

LA VALETTE indeed did not flatter himſelf ſo far, as to imagine it would be poſſible to hold out ſo weak a place, for any conſiderable time, againſt the continual attacks of the Turks; he was in reality concerned, from the bottom of his heart, at the dangers to which the knights in that poſt were expoſed: but as the ſafety of the whole iſland depended on the length of the ſiege, and that a brave defence was neceſſary, in order to allow the viceroy of Sicily time to advance to his ſuccour, he reſolved to throw himſelf into the fort, and there bury himſelf, rather than ſee it loſt by a weak defence, and an over-haſty capitulation, which would enable the infidels to attack the town and the caſtle of St. Angelo, the laſt reſource the knights and the order would have left. LaValette was preparing to lead this ſuccour into the fort; but the council, and all the convent in general, oppoſed it; when immedi-

ately

ately ſo great a number of knights offered themſelves, and preſſed to be ſent on this commiſſion, that the only trouble was, whom to make choice of for that purpoſe. The officers, whom the grand maſter pitched upon to lead this reinforcement, were the chevaliers Gonçales de Medran, and la Motte, who entered the fort at the head of the companies of foot under their command. Several knights got leave to go along with them; and hiſtorians have tranſmitted to us the name of one John de Sola, a Navarreſe, a ſerving brother, and a brave ſoldier, who carried ſeveral others along with him, whom he inſpired with the ſame intrepidity and reſolution as himſelf; they all, like him, bravely loſing their lives in one attack or other. Their places were afterwards ſupplied by ſeveral knights of different nations; viz. Engliſh, French, Flemings, and Germans, who, by reaſon of the diſtance of their reſpective provinces, did not arrive in Sicily, till after the Turks were landed at Malta, and that the caſtle of St. Elmo was beſieged. The greateſt part of them were ſo impatient to ſhare with their brethren in the perils of the ſiege, that they would not ſtay for a convoy, but got into light barks, and ſiled off, one after another, as opportunities offered. Upon their landing at the town, they deſired the grand maſter to give them leave to throw themſelves into the fort that was attacked; when being gratified in their requeſt, they immediately got into boats, that had neither maſts nor ſails; and, for fear of being diſcovered, croſſed port Muzet, and got into the fort beſieged. The grand maſter, to favour their paſſage, was continually cannonading the camp of the enemy from the caſtle of St. Angelo, which ſtood upon an eminence. A cannon-ball fired from thence, falling into the trenches, ſtruck upon a large ſtone, and ſhattered it to pieces; one of the ſhivers chanced to hit admiral Piali, as he was viſiting the works, and wounded him dangerouſly. His ſoldiers thought he was killed; and the grand maſter, obſerving the army and fleet were prodigiouſly alarmed at this accident, he, in order to draw ſome advantage from the confuſion they

were in, thought it a proper opportunity for the ſending out a veſſel to preſs the coming up of the Sicilian ſuccours, and prevent the loſs of the fort: accordingly he diſpatched the chevalier de la Valette Cornuſſon, his nephew, and the commander Salvago, a Genoeſe, to the viceroy in the night, to beg him to loſe no time in advancing with the reinforcements which the king his maſter had promiſed; and to ſend him at the ſame time two gallies of the order, which were returned from cruiſing, and were at Meſſina, and likewiſe all the knights that had rendevouzed there, who, by the help of the Spaniſh fleet, might find an opportunity of getting into the harbour. The commander de la Valette delivered him at the ſame time, a particular memorial, with reſpect to the courſe which it would be proper for the Chriſtian fleet to hold, with a copy of the ſignals to be made on both ſides, either at Goza, or in the adjoining roads that were proper for landing. The viceroy immediately ſent an expreſs, to aſſure him of a ſpeedy reinforcement, and that he would ſhip it off by the 15th of June at fartheſt, deſiring him in the mean time to be always ſupplying the fort of St. Elmo with freſh troops, in order to prevent the Turks from getting poſſeſſion of it. The grand maſter, to encourage the garriſon, acquainted them with the news he had received from the viceroy. The chevalier de Medran, who led the laſt reinforcement that had been ſent thither, made a ſally to retard the approaches of the Turks; fell into their trenches, ſurpriſed them, and by the help of the artillery of the caſtle, which was continually firing upon them, he at firſt cut to pieces all that ſtood in his way. But the Turks, recovering from their ſurpriſe, rallied in great numbers, charged again, and, after an obſtinate engagement, recovered their trenches, and forced the Chriſtians to retire into the fort. Unhappily for the Chriſtians, the wind blew very ſtrong, and drove back the ſmoke of the artillery, which gathered like a thick cloud over the counterſcarp. The Turks, aſſiſted by this obſcurity, ſeized upon it unperceived, where they made a lodgment with trees, beams,

wool-

wool-ſacks, and gabions, which they had in readineſs, and at the ſame time raiſed a battery upon it.

As ſoon as the ſmoke was blown off, the ſoldiers in the fort were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee Turkiſh colours planted upon the counterſcarp; and the infidels, beginning to play from thence upon the ravelin, which, not being of a due height, was expoſed to the fire of their ſmall arms, ſo that not a man of the beſieged could ſhew his head, but he was immediately killed by the janizaries, who were excellent marks-men: for which reaſon, captain de la Cerda propoſed the undermining and blowing of it up, for fear, as he ſaid, leſt the infidels ſhould make a lodgment in that advanced work. But they rejected this advice, which did not much redound to his honour, as they ſuſpected it was given by a man, who was uneaſy at the ſight of danger, and who did not value what became of the ſiege, provided he could but ſee it at an end.

WHILST the Chriſtians and infidels were thus continually engaged, Uluchialy a renegado, a famous corſair, joined the Turkiſh fleet with ſix gallies, which he had brought from Alexandria, having 900 land-forces on board; and a few days after, Dragut viceroy of Tripoli came up with 1600 more, on board thirteen gallies and two galliots. We have already obſerved, that the grand ſeignior had ſo high an eſteem for his valour and capacity, that he had given expreſs orders to his generals, both by ſea and land, not to undertake any thing without his advice. His perſonal merit, and particularly the credit he had at the porte, was the occaſion of their receiving him with a ſalvo of all the artillery, and the higheſt marks of deference and diſtinction; and, as ſoon as he was landed, he went to viſit the camp, and the principal places of the iſland.

WHATEVER meaſures he might keep with the generals with reſpect to civility, he yet could not help diſcovering that he diſapproved their having begun the enterprize with the ſiege of fort St. Elmo. He pretended, that they ought firſt to have attacked the caſtle of Goza, and afterwards the *Notable city*, which ſupplied

the town and the castle of St. Angelo with provisions; alledging, that they, by the taking of those places, would not only have cut off the breaks that fed the rest of the island, but, which was of much greater consequence, would have stopped up all the avenues by which the Christians pretended to throw succours into the island.

THE basha, though invested with the post of general, was nevertheless afraid of the corsair's credit; and therefore represented to him, that they, in order to secure the grand seignior's fleet from the violence of the winds, and from being surprised by the Christian forces, had been obliged to begin with attacking the fort, as the taking of it would open them a passage into port Murzet; that however the siege was not so far advanced but they might raise it, and transport the army to Goza, or invest the city, if he thought proper. "That "would not be an improper step, replied Dragut, if things "had not been carried to too great lengths; but after "opening of the trenches, and attacking the fort for se-"veral days, there will be no raising the siege without "exposing his highness's glory, and perhaps disheartn-"ing the soldiers." His opinion therefore was, that they should employ all the forces of the army in order to go through the enterprize with honour; and as a proof that the liberty he had taken of speaking his sentiments did not arise from any mean envy and a spirit of malignity, the common vice of courtiers, he, from the moment it was resolved that they should continue the siege, employed himself in it with as much courage and assiduity as if he had been answerable for its success. No general officer scarce ever shewed greater intrepidity: he spent whole days together in the trenches and on the batteries. He was master of a great many talents, but was particularly skilled in the management and direction of the artillery, in which no one excelled him; this had been his first profession, as has been already observed in the foregoing book: by his orders, they, on the first of June, raised a second battery parallel to the first, but which was nearer the fort; and, in

in order to keep up a continual fire, they played ſucceſſively one after another upon a cavalier that covered the fort. He likewiſe planted four cannon towards port Muzet, to batter it on that ſide, and two others on the counterſcarp, which ſhot downwards into the ditch, and played upon the caſemate; and moreover, ſent four culverins from his gallies to the point at the entrance of port Muzet, which ever ſince that time has been called *Cape Dragut*, or Dragut's point, where he planted them in order to batter the flank of the ravelin and the cavalier, and all the weſtern-ſide of the fort.

THE Turkiſh musketeers firing continually upon the ravelin, their engineers ſallied out of the trenches under the cover of the fire, and advanced openly with great reſolution to the foot of the ravelin, in order to view the effect of their batteries, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. Whether it were that the centinel was killed or aſleep on his poſt, or whether it was the fault of the officers in not going the rounds themſelves, but leaving it to the common ſoldiers, no one appeared, or offered to diſturb them, ſo that theſe engineers viewed the ravelin at their leiſure, and obſerved that there was no going from the cavalier to that outwork, but by a kind of bridge made of a few planks. They likewiſe diſcovered a port-hole for cannon made ſo very low, that one of the engineers getting upon another's ſhoulders, looked through it, and ſaw the Chriſtian ſoldiers lying careleſsly extended on the ground and faſt aſleep. Theſe made their report; and a body of the Turks ſoon advanced, who, clapping their ladders to the ravelin, got into it by the port-hole, and cut moſt of the Chriſtians to pieces: thoſe who awoke firſt, ſeeing ſuch a number of enemies about them, took to their heels; and ſeveral, to avoid falling by the Turkiſh ſabres, threw themſelves headlong from the bridge into the ditch. The Turks purſued their advantage, and leaped upon the bridge, in order to get into the cavalier, but were ſtopped by the ſerjeant-major Guerara, who, upon hearing the noiſe, had run thither

thither with ſome ſoldiers. He was ſoon ſuſtained by the chevaliers de Vercoyran and de Medran, who came up with their companies, as did the bailiff of Negrepont at the head of ſeveral knights. They now fought on a more equal foot, and the Turks were preſently repulſed; and as the ravelin had no defence on the ſide next the cavalier and the fort, the Chriſtians levelled two cannon to play upon it, which, as it made ſome havock among the infidels, gave the Chriſtians room to hope that they ſhould recover it. But Muſtapha ordered ſeveral detachments of foot to advance, who, not valuing the fire, threw themſelves into the ravelin, and the pioneers coming up with wool-ſacks, gabions, faſcines, and planks, they made a lodgment, and all the efforts of the Chriſtians could not drive them out.

THE Turks did not ſtop here; but ſeeing the bailiff and the knights retire into the cavalier, by a way that led up to it from the bottom of the ditch, they with a boldneſs which the hopes of victory inſpired them with, threw themſelves into it ſword in hand, and purſued them with an eagerneſs which nothing could ſtop but the artillery of the fort, and a ſhower of fire-works, ſtones, musket and cannon ſhot, which made ſuch ſlaughter among them, that they were forced to give over the purſuit, and retire out of the ditch. 'Tis ſaid, however, that they, after rallying again, and receiving a freſh reinforcement, returned into it a ſecond time, by a breach which was made in the counterſcarp; and, clapping their ladders to the fort, they mounted in ſhoals, and with ſuch intrepidity and reſolution, that it would have been hard to judge of the ſucceſs of this laſt attack, had not their ladders by good luck proved too ſhort. In fine, they were at laſt forced to abandon them, but not without loſing abundance of men; this engagment, which laſted from day-break till noon, coſt them, as we are told, near 3000 of the braveſt troops in their army. The order likewiſe, beſides the loſs of the ravelin, had twenty of its knights and near an hundred ſoldiers killed. The bailiff of Negrepont,

the

the ſerjeant-major Guerara, the chevalier Adorne, and la Roche Perura, a young Caſtilian knight, were wounded. Hiſtorians relate, that the chevalier Abel de Bridiers of la Gardampe being ſhot in the body, with a musket-ball, and ſome of his brother knights offering to help him, and carry him to a place where he might have his wound dreſſed, he, after having thanked them for their offer, ſaid, "Don't trouble "yourſelves about me, I am a dead man; your care "will be better employed in the defence of our ſurviv-"ing brethren." After which, he crawled to the chapel of the fort, and, commending his ſoul to God, expired before the altar, where he was found dead. The wounded were by the grand maſter's leave carried in the night-time to the town, in order to their being looked after; and an hundred men were ſent the ſame way to ſupply their places, under the command of the chevalier Vagnon. The artillery of the fort, and the batteries of the caſtle of St. Angelo and the iſle de la Sangle, were very ſerviceable in ſecuring their paſſage; and though the Turks had planted two cannon on the top of the grotto of Alicata, which played upon that part where there was entrance into the fort, and that the janizaries, who were excellent arquebuſiers, and who uſed muskets of a large bore, that carried at a great diſtance, were continually firing upon the ſhore that lay neareſt to the fort; they, nevertheleſs, had not yet been able to cut off this communication, nor hinder the paſſage of the little reinforcements, which the grand maſter ſent thither.

'TWAS with great concern that he, upon the return of the wounded, received the particulars of the loſs of the ravelin, and the ſeveral circumſtances in this laſt engagement; nor was his indignation leſs, to ſee that la Cerda, under pretence of a ſlight wound, the marks of which were ſcarcely viſible, had put himſelf in the number of the wounded. This cowardice, the like of which had never been known before in the order, was a ſenſible affliction to la Vallette; and though he pitied his weakneſs, he nevertheleſs had him arreſted

and

and ſent to priſon; a puniſhment ſtill too mild for a man, who, during the whole time of the ſiege, had uſed all the cunning and addreſs he was maſter of, only to get out of the way of danger.

THE bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio, had leave ſent them by the grand maſter to return to the convent; but they, though wounded, and very antient, refuſed it with great reſolution, and anſwered, that they only deſired leave to loſe their lives in their poſts, and die in the bed of honour. Theſe venerable knights, whoſe faces were burnt and diſfigured by the heat of the ſun, were always under arms, and never ſtirred from thoſe places where there was moſt danger; and though they were almoſt worn out with old age, they nevertheleſs laboured in carrying earth to thoſe places that ſtood in need of being fortified, and were continually lending a helping hand to the other knights; ſome of whom, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, were continually wounded. Nothing was there ſeen but cripples, arms hanging in ſlings, and mangled limbs that had been ſhot off, and which lay ſcattered up and down for want of their having had time to bury them; and nevertheleſs, theſe men, the greateſt part of whom had but half of themſelves left, ſtill preſerved their courage entire, did ſervice about the artillery, crawled to the breaches, and appeared with intrepidity in all places.

THE grand maſter ſent them from time to time all the reinforcements the place could contain; but as there was ſcarce a day in which the continual fire of the enemy did not deſtroy a conſiderable number of the knights and ſoldiers, he ſent off a bark in the night-time for Sicily, with letters to the viceroy, by which he acquainted him with the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and expreſſed his ſurpriſe at his not having yet attempted to ſend back the two gallies of the order to Malta, with the knights who waited only for that opportunity, in order to repair to their reſpective poſts, as their duty required; he likeways deſired him to ſend an immediate reinforcement of a

thouſand

thouſand ſoldiers, in order to ſupply the loſs of thoſe who periſhed daily in the fort. The viceroy's conduct, and the little eagerneſs he diſcovered to get the king of Spain's ſquadrons together, made him apprehenſive, that he would never reſolve with himſelf to try the fate of a ſea engagement, and therefore told him, at the concluſion of his letter, that provided he would land only eight thouſand men in the iſland, he did not queſtion but he ſhould be able, with that reinforcement, and the troops he had left, to force the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and reimbark on board their ſhips. The viceroy had no ſooner received it, but he immediately ſent back Salvago, who, by the grand maſter's orders, had continued near his perſon to haſten the ſuccours, and another knight along with him, called Miranda, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed, as well as the moſt zealous of the whole order; charging them to aſſure the grand maſter, that he would not loſe a moment's time in getting together ſuch a fleet as ſhould be ſufficient to bring him the ſuccours he expected; but that he had not as yet ſhips and gallies enough to hazard a battle with the Turkiſh fleet; that he wanted thoſe of the order, which he deſired him to ſend forthwith, the better to forward the embarkation of the troops.

THE two knights went on board a light brigantine, and took the two Malteſe gallies, which the viceroy had detained in the port of Saragoſſa, by way of convoy, till they had doubled cape Paſſaro, when they ſent them back, becauſe they could not advance nearer the port without being diſcovered; after which they made a ſhift to get in the dark to port Muzet, and landed as near as they could to fort St. Elmo. They ſtayed there all the next day; and, after having viſited the ſeveral poſts of the place, and ſeen the ill condition it was in, they went on board again the night following, and landed at the town, to wait upon the grand maſter. He was prodigiouſly ſurpriſed to ſee them arrive without any reinforcement, and eſpecially without the two gallies of the order, and to find that the viceroy, not

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with detaining them, demanded likeways the five others, though the ſoldiers and crew belonging to them, were continually at work upon the fortifications of the town and the iſland de la Sangle. This conduct confirmed him in his ſuſpicions, that the viceroy, notwithſtanding his promiſes, and the boaſtings he had made of a mighty ſuccour, durſt not hazard a battle; and that he, by his affected delays, and his unſeaſonable demand of the gallies, was only looking out for a pretence, in order to excuſe himſelf from coming to attack the Turkiſh fleet. Upon this, he diſpatched Salvago back again, who, in his zeal for the order, deſpiſed the danger he ran of being taken by the infidels, and paſſed backwards and forwards ſeveral times thro' their fleet, during the whole courſe of the ſiege. The grand maſter ordered him to repreſent to the viceroy, that it would be impoſſible for him to ſend him the gallies of the order, without putting at leaſt fifty ſoldiers on board of each, without a good number of officers to keep the crew and ſlaves from making an inſurrection; that he was not in a condition to ſpare either ſoldiers or officers; and that he did not think he ſhould be able to maintain the iſland, and hold out againſt the continual attacks of the infidels, till the arrival of the great ſuccours he had promiſed him, if he did not, in the mean time, ſend him a reinforcement of troops. La Valette, before his departure, delivered him a commiſſion for the prior Gatinara; by virtue of which, he and the council empowered that old commander, who was one of the moſt conſiderable of the order, to borrow money in their name of the public banks; to collect and receive reſponſions; to buy up ammunition, and to ſend it without loſs of time to Malta, with the two gallies, and the knights who were come to Meſſina in their way thither, and who were waiting in that city with impatience for the departure of the great fleet.

SALVAGO ſet out alone for Sicily: la Miranda, prompted by his zeal, obtained leave of the grand maſter to throw himſelf into fort St. Elmo; he was received

ceived there with the regard due to his valour. La Miranda was an old knight, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, and was as much reverenced for his piety as his courage. The knights in the fort inveſted him, by common conſent, with the poſt of major, and he diſcharged the duties of it with his ordinary valour and capacity: his experience, his preſence in all places where it was neceſſary, and above all his example, raiſed the courage of the ſoldiers: he taught them the way, when the cannon of the enemy fired upon them, to ſecure themſelves from their ſhot, and to anſwer, at the ſame time, with the fire of the place, without expoſing themſelves to theirs. He took care to get in a great ſtock of wine, of proviſions, and remedies for the ſick and wounded; he was a kind of father to the ſoldiers, and, in a word, nothing eſcaped his attention but the care and preſervation of his own perſon.

DRAGUT, to prevent the ſending of continual ſuccours to the fort, and cut off the communication between it and the town, propoſed, in a council of war, the erecting of a new battery upon the eaſtern point of the great port, upon the ſame ſpot where the gallows ſtood. But Muſtapha repreſented to him, that the place was too remote from the camp, and too near the town; that the knights would carry off the cannon, or at leaſt nail it; that it would be impoſſible to maintain this battery without forming a kind of camp on the ſpot, and having always a conſiderable body of troops there ready to oppoſe the ſallies and attacks of the knights; that his army was ſo much weakened, by the loſſes and fatigues of the ſiege, that he could not poſſibly divide it; ſo that he muſt delay the putting of that project in execution till the arrival of the viceroy of Algiers, who was daily expected with all the forces of his government, and who would be overjoyed to head that enterpriſe. The council agreed to this advice, and the Turks, in the mean time, continued their batteries day and night on that ſide where port Muzet lay; and, at the ſame time,

by the help of faſcines, gabions, and wool-ſacks, raiſed the ravelin higher than the parapet of the place, ſo that they could ſee every thing that paſſed within. The next thing they did, was to plant two cannon upon it; the continual fire of which, with that of their ſmall arms, hindered the ſoldiers from coming near the parapet, ſo that they were forced to run trenches up to it, and march through a ſubterraneous paſſage in order to get thither. The baſha, to ruin this defence, employed ſome maſts, ſail-yards, and large planks, to frame a bridge broad enough for ſix men to go a-breaſt; and for fear the Chriſtians ſhould throw fire-works upon it, in order to burn it down, they covered it with earth to a certain height. The Turks, by the help of this bridge, and the continual fire from the ravelin, pierced as far as the parapet, and fell to ſapping as well as undermining the wall. La Miranda, who ran to every place where there was moſt danger, perceiving their deſign, was not very uneaſy about the mine, which the infidels were endeavouring to run under a place where, he was very ſenſible, they would meet with a rock that would be too hard for their tools to enter.

BUT as their ſap would inſenſibly ruin the parapet, he made them raiſe another behind it, which he fortified with a good ditch, and lined it with artillery; and the night following he made a ſally at the head of the braveſt ſoldiers of the garriſon. Whilſt one part of them amuſed the enemy with a falſe attack, by pretending to fall upon their trenches; the reſt crept under the bridge, ſet fire to it, and never ſtirred till they ſaw it all over in a flame. The Turks, however, with indefatigable labour, repaired it the next day, and in the evening got down into the ditch, and clapped their ladders to the foot of the wall, as if they intended to make an aſſault, when the knights immediately preſented themſelves upon the breach with their uſual intrepidity. The infidels thereupon retired on a ſudden, having made that motion only to oblige them to ſhew themſelves; and, at the ſame time, their artillery, which

was

was charged with cartridge-ſhot, made ſuch a terrible fire, that there were more knights of the order loſt this occaſion, than had been before in the warn- ſacks.

THOSE who were left, ſeeing the ravelin taken, which laid all the fort open, and commanded it; moſt of their cannon diſmounted, and their defences ruined; large breaches made, and few ſoldiers to defend them; ſent a deputation to the grand maſter, by which they repreſented to him the deplorable condition of the place, and deſire him to ſend boats to carry them over to the town, and by that means prevent their being taken by ſtorm. The beſieged pitched upon the chevalier Medran for this diſagreeable commiſſion, as being a perſon whom the grand maſter greatly eſteemed for his valour: ſo that his report could not be ſuſpected of weakneſs or cowardice. He told la Valette plainly, that the fort was no longer tenable, and that if they ſhould obſtinately reſolve to continue there but even a few days more, ſuch a defence would be of no uſe, and only ſerve to deſtroy the reſt of the garriſon; and that nothing could poſſibly be of greater advantage to the Turks, than the order's ſending from time to time new reinforcements into a place which was ſo diſmantled; that it would inſenſibly conſume the troops neceſſary for the defence of the other fortreſſes of the iſland: he concluded with declaring, that he was, nevertheleſs, commiſſioned to aſſure him of the blind and implicit obedience of the knights and garriſon, whatever reſolution he might think fit to take.

THE grand maſter acquainted the council with the occaſion of the chevalier de Medran's coming, and the condition of the fort and garriſon. Moſt of the great croſſes, who compoſed the council, were for abandoning a place that ſwallowed up, as it were, its defenders, and which, by inſenſible degrees, under a pretence of being reinforced, would drain the other fortreſſes of their garriſons. Theſe motives were juſt and reaſonable; notwithſtanding which, the grand maſter was of a contrary opinion: he agreed indeed that the

fort was not tenable, and even owned that he could not help bewailing the fate of the knights, who, in so dangerous a post, were exposed to be daily knocked on the head; but he insisted that there are some circumstances, in which it is necessary to hazard some limbs, in order to save the whole body; that he had received good information of the viceroy's having declared, that in case the fort should be either taken or abandoned, he would not hazard the fleet and forces of his master, to save the rest of the island; so that the whole safety of Malta depended entirely on the length of the siege, and that it was absolutely necessary, let it cost the order what it would, to spin it out as long as possible. The council came over to his opinion; when he, in concurrence with them, ordered Medran to represent, in his name, to the knights within the fort, that the preservation, or utter loss of the island, and perhaps of the order itself, depended on the time they should hold out the place; that they should call to mind the vows they had made at their profession; and that they were obliged to sacrifice their lives for the defence of the order; that he would not fail to send them reinforcements, which should be as strong as the smallness of the fort would admit of; and that he was resolved, whenever it should be necessary, to throw himself into the place, and there die with them.

WHEN Medran reported this answer, several knights, especially the most antient among them, protested they would bury themselves under the ruins of the fort, rather than abandon it; but the greatest part of them, as well as some officers of the garrison, thought the answer harsh and cruel, and complained that the council, and a set of men who had no share in the danger, were for exposing them to the slaughter, and to certain death, without the least prospect of advantage. These murmurs rose higher, on occasion of a mine, which the Turks were endeavouring to run under the first parapet; upon which they drew up a letter to the grand master, by which they desired leave

to

to retire into the town; it was ſigned by fifty-three knights: they further declared, that in caſe they did not find boats for them the next night, in order to carry them off from a place, where they were all going to be deſtroyed, they were abſolutely bent to take the deſperate reſolution, to ſally out and be killed ſword in hand, rather than continue in the fort, to no other purpoſe than to be ſmothered under its ruins; or, in caſe of its being taken by ſtorm, to have their throats cut like ſo many beaſts, and be expoſed to all the torments, which the ingenious cruelty of the Barbarians are ever ſure of inventing.

THE commander du Cornet was the bearer of this letter: the grand maſter read it with great trouble and indignation; but as he was inſpired with a courage that was ſuperior even to the worſt events, he wrote them word back, that it was not enough for them to loſe their lives ſword in hand, in order to die with honour, which they ſeemed ſo fond of, but that they muſt likeways loſe them in the practice of the obedience which they owed him, and in the occaſions which he ſhould preſcribe them; that in caſe they ſhould deſert the fort, and he ſhould ſend boats to fetch them off, they muſt never expect to be relieved by the viceroy; that the Turks would not fail to inveſt and beſiege the town the next moment, where they would inevitably meet with the death they ſo vainly hoped to eſcape, by ſcandalouſly deſerting a poſt, the defence of which had been committed to them by the order; and that, after all, they had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from mines, as they were in a fort that was built on one continued rock. In fine, la Valette, in hopes of reviving their drooping courage, or rather in order to gain time, ſent three commiſſioners thither, with orders to bring him a juſt account of the condition of the place, and how many days it might hold out longer.

a The commander de Medina, a Spaniard; the chevalier de la Roche, a Frenchman; the chevalier Caſtriot, an Italian.

THESE commissioners, upon their arrival, spoke in terms of the highest civility and mildness to all the knights who were assembled to receive them; they highly extolled the courage and resolution which they had hitherto shewn, and exhorted them not to tarnish the lustre of their glory and reputation by an over-hasty retreat. Such of the knights as had signed the letter to the grand master, before they would make any answer, desired them to visit all the posts of the place. They shewed them that it was entirely commanded by the exhaussement, or high work, which the Turks, since their taking of the ravelin, had raised close to it, and that they might judge from the smallness and narrowness of the fort, that it was impossible but they must lose abundance of men every day, though indeed they could not be so thoroughly sensible of it, as if they had felt all the fury, and seen the havock of their great and small shot; and that after all, the more men they should send thither, the greater would be the loss, as it was a place where they had not room and earth sufficient to intrench themselves.

TWO of the commissioners, both men of judgment and experience, were for trying what complaisance could do; and, in order therefore to bring over the malecontents, they owned that they could not possibly imagine how they had been able to hold out so long in a little fort, which was so dismantled, that it appeared to be no more than a heap of rubbish; after which they added, that they still flattered themselves, that they, who were such brave knights, would rouze their innate valour, which alone would enable them to hold it out some days longer, and, by that means, give the viceroy time to come to their relief, and raise the siege. The third commissioner was named Constantine Castriot, a Greek prince, and descended, as we are told, from the house of the famous Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania, and of all Christendom. Castriot, who was naturally hot and furious in his zeal, without any regard to the temper and complaisance of his colleagues, warmly maintained, that the place was not yet reduced

ced to such extremity, but that it might hold out some time longer; that there were several ways of securing the fort from the artillery of the ravelin; that there was room on the inside of the breach to make cuts and intrenchments, which might be well secured with palisadoes; and that every body knew it was impossible to undermine a place which was built upon a rock.

THE knights, to whom he directed his discourse, took it for an affront, as if he had intended to reproach them with either not understanding the arts of war, or their not having courage enough to put in practice the dangerous expedients and remedies it prescribes. This alone was sufficient to raise the most unhappy disputes; every one maintained his sentiments with vehemence; the dispute grew hot, when some of the most passionate knights cried out, that they must absolutely keep such an able man in the place, and oblige him to put his own lessons in practice; and accordingly they ran to the gate of the fort in order to seize it, and keep him in. A dangerous tumult, of which the Turks might have taken advantage, was going to break out, when the bailiff of Negrepont, and la Miranda, found a way to appease it, by causing an alarm to be sounded, which obliged all the knights to run to their respective posts.

THE commissioners, at their return to the town, gave the grand master an account of the ill condition the place was in, and told him frankly, that they did not believe the garrison could be able to stand an assault. Castriot, on the contrary, either through fondness for his first opinion, or perhaps through resentment at what had passed between him and the knights, pretended that the place was still tenable; and, at the same time, offered the grand master, provided he would give him leave, to levy some troops in the island, to throw himself into the fort, and hold it out against all the efforts of the infidels, till the succours should arrive.

PRO-

PROBABLY there might be more courage and reſolution in theſe aſſertions, than knowledge of the real condition of the place; and the grand maſter knew very well what he had to truſt to; but as he was under an abſolute neceſſity of prolonging the ſiege at any rate, he accepted Caſtriot's offer, hoping to make uſe of it for ſeveral purpoſes. Accordingly, he gave him great encomiums in public, and the biſhop of Malta, actuated by a zeal ſo becoming his dignity, in concert with him, advanced the ſums neceſſary for making the new levies that were to relieve the knights; and accordingly, they immediately beat up for them in the town and fortreſſes. A conſiderable number of the inhabitants of the country, and ſome of the chief citizens liſted themſelves; and there was an emulation who ſhould enter into the ſervice firſt. The knights who were in the fort, heard this news with a ſurpriſe that was mixed with vexation; and what encreaſed it ſtill more, was the grand maſter's writing to them afterwards in harſh and dry terms, and with an air of ſtate, that he was ready to give them their diſcharge; that for one knight, who ſeemed to deſpair of holding out the ſiege any longer, ten brave ſoldiers offered themſelves, who were inſpired with a true ſpirit of zeal and courage, and eagerly ſought to obtain leave to throw themſelves into the fort; that he would immediately ſend a new garriſon to relieve them; that they had no more to do but to deliver up their poſts to the officers who were to head it, and that they might come back to the town in the veſſels on which the others were to be tranſported. "Return my brethren, ſaid he, to the convent; you "will be more in ſafety there; and as for me, I ſhall "then be leſs in pain about the preſervation of fort St. "Elmo, tho' it be of ſuch importance, that the preſer- "vation of the iſland, and all our order, depends en- "tirely upon it."

THESE few lines were written with an air of ſo much indifference, and even contempt, that the diſcontented knights were piqued to the laſt degree. They could not ſo much as think of delivering up the place

to

to the new ſoldiers and recruits, without being ſenſible of the ſhame and confuſion they were going to bring upon themſelves in the ſight of the whole order. "How (ſaid they one to another) ſhall we be able to "bear the ſight of the grand maſter, and the reproach "of our fellow knights? And if this new garriſon "ſhould have the good fortune to hold out the place "till ſuch time as the ſuccours arrive, what corner of "the earth ſhall we be able to find, remote enough "from all human ſociety to retire to, and there to bury "our ſhame and confuſion?" Full of theſe ſad reflections, they reſolved to loſe their lives to a man, rather than give up their poſt to the new ſoldiers, or abandon the place to the Turks; and accordingly intreated the bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio to acquaint the grand maſter with their repentance, and the reſolution they had made to loſe the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of the place. As it was ſtill day-light, and that they were deſirous of preventing the arrival of the boats, the governor diſpatched an excellent ſwimmer with a letter to him, in which he took notice of the happy change; and, in the name of the malecontents, begged him to pardon their fault, and give them leave to wipe it out by an intrepidity and reſolution that would be proof againſt the greateſt dangers.

THIS repentance was juſt what the grand maſter wanted to bring the malecontents to; and, tho' he had foreſeen it, and even paved the way to it, by the jealouſy and emulation which he inſpired, he nevertheleſs thought proper not to comply with the governor's requeſt at firſt; and therefore told him in his letter, that he would always prefer a body of new troops that obeyed the laws of military diſcipline to a number of old warriors, who pretended to be above controul. The knights, in a conſternation at his ſteadineſs and reſolution, begged pardon in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. La Valette, conſidering that it would be dangerous to drive them to deſpair, ſuffered himſelf to be wrought upon, and was pleaſed to be pacified; accordingly, the

new

new levies were diſmiſſed, and the inhabitants were ſent back to their reſpective poſts which had been aſſigned them before Caſtriot's propoſal.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the commander Salvago was returned back into Sicily, and, landing at Syragoſa, he found the viceroy ſtill ſtarting one excuſe or other, to defer the departure of the ſuccours; for which reaſon, he, in the grand maſter's name, ordered the the commander de Cornuſſon, that prince's nephew, and the commander de St. Aubin, captains of the two gallies of the order which were in that port, to embark immediately for Malta, and to carry thither all the knights and volunteers who were arrived in that place, together with a company of foot which had been levied at the order's expence, and was commanded by the chevalier Auguſtin Ricca. Theſe two gallies, with this little re-inforcement on board, got, after various workings, into the iſle of Goza. Their deſign was to land in the ſafeſt creek or road of Malta. But they were prevented by Dragut, who had notice of their departure from the ſpies he kept in Sicily, and had therefore ſent ſeveral ſquadrons along the coaſts, to hinder the Chriſtian veſſels from coming near them.

THE knights who commanded the two gallies, not thinking proper to hazard the reinforcement they were carrying to Malta, againſt the ſuperior forces of Dragut, reſolved to return to Syragoſa. Their departure was a very ſenſible affliction to the grand maſter, he having depended on that little reinforcement in order to repair the continual loſſes he ſuffered in the defence of the fort. Accordingly, he reprimanded his nephew in the ſevereſt terms upon that account, and told him in his letters, with a kind of contempt, that glory was very ſeldom the ſhare of a captain who acted with ſo much caution; and added, that it was the duty of a knight of Malta, to dare more than any other warrior.

HE wrote by the ſame expreſs, to the commander Salvago, who continued near the viceroy's perſon, in order to haſten the ſuccours, and preſs the departure of the fleet; ordering him to acquaint that nobleman with

the

the extremity to which fort St. Elmo was reduced, and to beſeech him, in caſe all his forces were not yet joined, to ſend him at leaſt the two gallies of the order; to reinforce them with two others of the ſquadron of Sicily, and to put on board them all ſuch knights and volunteers as were at his court, and in the ports of that iſland, together with a regiment of foot to fill up the places of ſuch ſoldiers of the order, as were either dead, or diſabled by their wounds.

THE viceroy, who ever made pompous promiſes, and who, in hopes to frighten the Turks, was eternally talking of the great preparations he was making for the relief of Malta, would in ſome meaſure have given himſelf the lye, had he declined ſending ſo ſmall a reforcement. In order therefore to keep the world ſtill in a belief of the advantageous reports he had ſpread with relation to his forces, he appointed two gallies to ſet out immediately, with the two belonging to Malta, without waiting for the great reinforcement; and at the ſame time ordered Melchior Robles, colonel of the Sicilian brigade, to go on board the gallies with his regiment. But this embarkation, was, by the affected dilatorineſs of both land and ſea-officers, deferred from day to day, under various pretences: and the viceroy, who was not for dividing his forces, at the very time that he boaſted even of the ſervice he ſhould do the order by this ſmall reinforcement, gave ſecret orders to prevent its ſetting out.

THOUGH every thing ſeemed to conſpire againſt the fort's receiving any reinforcement, the grand maſter did not, upon that account, abate any thing of his uſual vigilance and activity: by his orders they were continually ſending recruits to the beſieged by night, together with proviſions, ammunition, and fire works. He had himſelf invented one of a particular ſort, proper to be uſed at an aſſault: they made hoops of very light wood, which were firſt dipped in brandy, or elſe rubbed over with boiling oil, then covered them with wool or cotton, which they ſteeped in other combuſtible liquors, mixed with ſalt-petre and gun-powder;

after

after this preparation was grown cold, they repeated it, as above, three ſeveral times, and, when an aſſault was made, they ſet theſe hoops on fire, took them up with tongs, and threw them into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions; when two or three ſoldiers, being hooked together in theſe burning hoops, they had no way to eſcape being burnt alive, but by plunging immediately into the water, and ſtaying there till the fire was extinguiſhed. The knights who defended the fort had the utmoſt need of all theſe different ſuccours, to oppoſe ſuch formidable enemies as they had to deal with.

FROM the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a ſingle day paſſed without ſome engagement; as the fort was but indifferently flanked, the infidels daily attempted to carry it by ſcalado; but were as often repulſed with the loſs of their braveſt ſoldiers. The baſha, aſhamed at having thrown away ſo much time before a place, whoſe fortifications were ſo weak, reſolved to come before it on the 16th, with all his forces, and give a general aſſault. To facilitate the attack, he employed the 15th in battering the breach, when the artillery playing all day long without intermiſſion, the wall was entirely demoliſhed, to the very rock on which it had been built.

ON the 16th of June, the day appointed for the aſſault, the Turkiſh gallies drew up by day-break over againſt the caſtle towards the ſea, and battered it with all the artillery of their ſhips; at the ſame time that a land battery, of thirty ſix large cannon, beat to pieces all the fortifications that were left ſtanding. The Turks, at the beat of drum, and ſound of their hautboys, and other barbarous inſtruments, entered the ditch which they had almoſt filled up; and no ſooner was a cannon fired, which was the ſignal for the aſſault, but they all ran on with great reſolution. Four thouſand archers, or arquebuſiers, being planted in the trenches, were of great ſervice to them by the continual fire they made upon thoſe who appeared on the breach. It was lined with ſeveral ranks of Chriſtian ſoldiers, in which they, between every three ſoldiers, had placed a knight, in order

order to ſuſtain and encourage them. This was the only ſtrength and defence of the caſtle. Theſe brave warriors, with their half-pikes in their hand, formed a kind of new wall, that was proof againſt all the efforts of the enemy, who ſoon began the attack, which was the warmeſt that had been made ever ſince the beginning of the ſiege: for it often happened, that the Chriſtians and Turks, after having ſpent their fire, and broke their ſwords and pikes, grappled together, when the dagger determined the fate of the combatants, according to their vigour or activity. The great and ſmall ſhot played on both ſides without intermiſſion, and each party annoyed his adverſary with fire-works: 'twas on this occaſion that the burning hoops above-mentioned were of great ſervice to the Chriſtians; they threw them into the midſt of their enemies, when moſt of thoſe who were caught in them were burnt alive. The cries of theſe wretches, thoſe of the combatants, the groans of the wounded and expiring, the noiſe and thunder of the cannon and muskets; all this ſpread a kind of terror on both ſides, which nevertheleſs could not make the Turks retire, nor would the knights abandon an inch of ground.

THE diſtance between fort St. Elmo and the caſtle of St Angelo and the town, was no more than the breadth of the harbour, ſo that one could plainly ſee from thence all that paſſed in this terrible and bloody engagement. The knights, and the people who were ſpectators of it, were very uneaſy, and in pain about the ſucceſs of it, and appeared as paſſionately concerned, as if they themſelves had ſtood the aſſault; ſo that one might ſee alternately, by their cries and in their change of countenance, a lively image of the advantages or loſſes of either party. The grand maſter, whoſe courage and capacity would not ſuffer him in particular to be an idle ſpectator of the combat fired continually upon the beſiegers from the batteries of the caſtle of St. Angelo, the town, and the iſle de la Sangle.

WHILST the island was in a manner all over in a flame, thirty Turkish rais, or galley-officers, observing that all the forces of the besieged were drawn to the quarter where the assault was made, endeavoured to make themselves masters of a bulwark that was not so well guarded: accordingly they clapped ladders to the wall, and got up to the point of the bastion without any opposition; which the grand master perceiving, immediately levelled two cannon on that side, and killed twenty of them with the first discharge; which frightening the ten remaining, they fled away as fast as possible to their trenches.

THE Turks had no better success at the great cavalier, which covered the front of the fort. They had battered it for a long time together, with all their artillery, without being able even so much as to move that unwieldy mountain of earth, which supported itself by its own weight. They afterwards attempted to scale it, and with great bravery mounted up their ladders sword in hand; but the chevalier John Anthony Giuggno, an Italian, who commanded in that post, being well seconded by several other knights, and particularly by a serving brother of the town of Marseilles, called Chanaut, they threw the flaming hoops abovementioned with so much dexterity, that the Turks, terrified at these machines, abandoned the attack. Not even the most intrepid janizary, who advanced boldly sabre in hand to attack the bravest knight, but abandoned his post at the sight of these burning hoops, and fled away with precipitation; nor could all the prayers, the threats or blows of his officers prevail upon him to stop his flight. At length, the knights, after having sustained an assault for six hours together, notwithstanding their being covered over with wounds, burnt with the scorching rays of the sun, and quite spent with the length of the engagement, had the satisfaction of seeing Turks retire first, and give over the attack; for the basha, after having lost upwards of 2000 men, was at length forced to command a retreat to be sounded. The Christians of the fort on this occasion

caſion ſet up a general ſhout, which was ecchoed back from the town, and anſwered by the people with loud acclamations. This good ſucceſs, greater than any one had even dared to hope for, conſidering the weakneſs of the place, was entirely owing to the generous deſpair of the greateſt part of the knights, who had devoted themſelves, as it were, to death; and who, during the whole engagement, were leſs ſollicitous to gain the victory, than to ſacrifice their enemies, tho' at the expence of their own lives.

THE order loſt, in this aſſault, ſeventeen knights, who were all killed upon the breach: among whom were particularly regretted the chevalier de Medran, who had juſt wreſted a ſtandard out of the hands of a Turkiſh officer that fell by his hand, when he himſelf was killed by a muſket-ſhot. The grand maſter, to do honour to his memory, ordered him to be buried among the great croſſes, a dignity that was juſtly due to his great valour, and which he would certainly have obtained, had he not fallen on this occaſion. They likewiſe loſt the chevaliers de Vagnon and la Motte, the latter dying of his wounds two days after the attack; and the commander de Morgut, who, as he was going from the fort to the town, in order to have his wounds dreſſed, had his head ſhot off by a cannon-ball. Beſides the knights, they reckoned upwards of 500 ſoldiers, who were either killed or diſabled. The grand maſter drew off 150 others to fill up their places, the ſmallneſs of the fort not allowing him to ſend a greater number; this detachment was compoſed only of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as offered themſelves for the ſervice, he not caring to interpoſe his authority to order any body in particular to ſuch a dangerous and bloody poſt.

THE baſha, judging that theſe recruits, which were filing off continually from the town to the fort, might make the ſiege continue as long as there ſhould be any knights in the other parts of the iſland, reſolved to endeavour to cut off the communication between them. For this end he held a kind of council of war in the

trenches, with Dragut, a ſangiac, and his principal engineer.

DRAGUT, either from his natural intrepidity, or becauſe he, as happens to old ſoldiers, deſpiſed dangers by being inured to them, going openly out of the trenches, to view the ſituation of the ground, was ſtruck in the head, near the right ear, with the ſhiver from a ſtone, which a cannon-ball from the caſtle of St. Angelo had ſhattered to pieces, and which killed the ſangiac upon the ſpot. Dragut was not much better; he loſt his ſpeech, and fell down in a ſwoon, the blood ſtreaming forth at his mouth, his noſe, and his ears. The baſha, in order not to diſcourage the ſoldiers, commanded them to throw ſomething over him, and carry him into his tent; when advancing with great ſedateneſs and intrepidity to the place, where he made his obſervations, he conſulted with the engineer, how they might beſt prevent the ſending of any ſuccours to the fort. The reſult of their conſultation was, to erect a battery upon Mount Calcara, and, if poſſible, to carry on their lines from the caſtle to the ſea.

THIS poſt, as we have already obſerved, had been reſerved for the viceroy of Algiers and his troops; but as he was not yet arrived, Muſtapha ordered a battalion of janizaries to poſt themſelves there, who extended themſelves, particularly along the ſhore from the gallows point, and ſo on to the Renella, to the point of San Salvador. Calcara hill was taken within theſe lines, and they raiſed another battery upon it, the fire of which, together with ſhot of the janizaries, who were continually firing from their long pieces, killed all ſuch as attempted to paſs. But they did not continue long in their poſt; for before they could make their lodgment, and finiſh their intrenchments, the grand maſter, who was aware of the conſequences of it, ordered the marſhal Copier to make a ſally at the head of a good number of knights and the braveſt ſoldiers, who charged the infidels ſo vigorouſly, that they cut part of them

to

to pieces, and forced the reſt to fly for their lives, and retire behind the intrenchments of their camp.

THE baſha, however, did not deſpond at this ill ſucceſs; but reſolving, coſt what it would, to prevent the garriſon of the fort from receiving any ſuccours from the town, he, by his engineer's advice, ordered a kind of covered way to be made behind the trenches, which were below the counterſcarp, and which were afterwards carried on to the ſea ſide over againſt Renella. They lined them with a great number of arquebuliers; and as the Turks worked night and day in carrying them on, the fort was at laſt inveſted on all ſides, ſo that no boat could come near it, without being immediately either intercepted or ſunk.

THE grand maſter ſaw plainly, that it would now be impoſſible for the fort to hold out any conſiderable time, without ſuch a ſtrong reinforcement, as might be able to raiſe the ſiege. Upon which he ſent immediate advice of it to the commander Salvago, his reſident at the viceroy of Sicily's court, with orders to renew his inſtances for diſpatching away the ſuccours. That knight did not fail to repreſent the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and to put him in mind of his repeated promiſes to the grand maſter; and in order not to omit any thing that might affect him, he inſiſted on the ſacred and expreſs promiſe of his catholic majeſty: notwithſtanding all which, Garſia, ſuch was his perplexity and irreſolution, would willingly have deferred it longer. But being continually ſollicited in the warmeſt terms by Gatinara prior of Meſſina, and above fourſcore of knights that were come thither from different countries, who beſought him to give them, in caſe the whole fleet was not yet ready to ſail, a few veſſels only to carry them to Malta; the viceroy, having no other way to get rid of the importunity of theſe knights, who beſieged him as it were in his own palace, was forced, through ſhame rather than their intreaties, to conſent at laſt to their going on board the two gallies which the chevalier de Cornuſſon, the grand maſter's nephew, had brought back from Saragoſſa. He rein-

forced them with two more, and put a regiment of Spaniſh foot on board them, giving the command of this little ſquadron to Don John de Cardona, his creature, with private orders, in caſe he heard of fort St. Elmo's being taken, to return immediately without landing his troops. Cardona ſet ſail, and advanced into the channel of Malta; when he, either under pretence of contrary winds, or elſe to avoid meeting the Turkiſh ſquadron which lay along the coaſts, inſtead of putting into ſome road, ſpent ſo much time in different motions, which were generally needleſs, that one would have thought he was come from Sicily, rather to ſhew the reinforcement at a diſtance, than to land it.

IF we were to have conſidered the viceroy's conduct, barely in it ſelf, we ſhould naturally have concluded, that he either acted with very little ſincerity when he made his promiſes, or elſe wanted courage to execute them: and indeed his affected dilatorineſs to ſuccour Malta, occaſioned his being generally ſuſpected, and made him odious to the knights. But then they did not reflect, that his principal concern was the preſervation and defence of Sicily, for which his head was to anſwer; and that in caſe Malta ſhould be taken, he had juſt reaſon to fear that the Turks would come and attack him in his government; and that he had orders from the king of Spain, to act in ſuch a manner in his endeavours to ſuccour the grand maſter, ſo as not raſhly to hazard his fleet and army, ſince it was the only ſecurity and guard of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and even of the coaſts of Spain.

THE Turks taking advantage of this exceſs of caution, made another ſtorm on the 21ſt. Their whole army was either drawn up in their trenches, or engaged under the walls. The baſha in hopes of carrying the place, was not ſparing of the lives of his men, who met with the ſame courage and reſiſtance in all their attacks. The infidels came on thrice to this dreadful aſſault, and were as often forced to retire. Abundance of the knights periſhed in theſe continual engagments; and

and if the night, which was coming on, had not put an end to them, it would have been impoſſible for them to have held out againſt the prodigious number of enemies with which they were attacked. The night, by affording them a little intermiſſion, ſhewed them at the ſame time the greatneſs of their loſs. They ſpent it in the midſt of the groans of men who were juſt expiring, and in dreſſing each other's wounds. The bailiff of Negropont, la Miranda, the chevalier de Mas, and other principal officers, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their charitable aſſiſtance towards the poor ſoldiers, worthily acquitting themſelves, like true knights hoſpitallers, of the duties of their profeſſion; and in order not to omit any thing that might contribute to their preſervation, or at leaſt to ſuſpend their deſtruction, they diſpatched an excellent ſwimmer croſs the port, to acquaint the grand maſter with the deplorable condition of the place, which he ſaid would inevitably be loſt, together with all the Chriſtians that were left in it, in caſe they did not find a way to ſend them a ſtrong reinforcement.

THE grand maſter was not ſo much ſurpriſed with this diſmal news, which he naturally expected, as he was concerned for the loſs the order was like to ſuſtain in the perſons of ſuch gallant men; for which reaſon, he left no method untried, that might enable him to ſend them ſuccours: accordingly he ordered five large boats to be immediately fitted out, which were ſoon crouded with a great number of zealous and courageous knights. But notwithſtanding all their efforts, they could not poſſibly get to the fort. Muſtapha had lined the ſhore with his artillery, and a body of muſketeers; the Turkiſh admiral, in concert with him, advanced with fourſcore gallies to the mouth of port Muzet: and to make all ſure, he poſted fifteen boats, light frigates and brigantines, in the front of his fleet, having a good number of excellent arquebuſiers on board, who made ſuch a continual fire, that they forced the knights to retire.

THE

THE beſieged in the fort being now out of all hopes of ſuccour, thought of nothing but ending their lives like good Chriſtians and true religious: for which purpoſe, they were all night long preparing themſelves for it, by receiving the ſacraments of the church: when this was over, and that nothing remained but the giving up their ſouls to God, they embraced one another with tenderneſs, and retired to their ſeveral poſts, in order to die with their weapons in their hands, and expire in the bed of honour. Such as were not able to walk by reaſon of their wounds, had themſelves carried in chairs to the ſide of the breach, where, armed with ſwords, which they held with both their hands, they waited with an heroic reſolution, till ſuch time as their enemies, towards whom they were not able to advance, ſhould come and attack them in their poſts.

THE next day, being the 2nd of June, the Turks at day-break came on to the aſſault with great ſhouts, as if they were going to a victory which it would be impoſſible to diſpute with them: but the Chriſtian ſoldiers defended themſelves with invincible bravery. One would have thought, that the certainty of an approaching death, which they were to ſhare in common with the knights, had put them on the ſame level with reſpect to courage and valour: ſome threw ſtones and fire-works, others advanced to meet the enemy with as much intrepidity, as if they had beat them; and ſuch as could not walk, fired on the enemy with their pieces; and when, by reaſon of their continual diſcharges, they had ſpent all their powder, they ſupplied themſelves from the pouches of their comrades who had dropped by their ſide. In fine, the knights, after having ſuſtained an aſſault for four hours together, had but ſixty perſons left to defend the breach; but theſe were ſomething more than men, who by a noble contempt of death, ſtill made their enemies tremble. The commander la Miranda, of the language of Caſtile, an excellent officer, who had ſignalized himſelf in the ſiege, ſeeing the place on the point of being forced by the

Turks,

Turks, recalled ſome Chriſtian ſoldiers, who ſtill then had maintained themſelves upon the cavalier which lay before the fort. The baſha ſeeing the breach fortified with this ſmall reinforcement, diſcontinued the aſſault in an inſtant, as if he had been again diſheartened by ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance, and pretended to retire; but it was only in order to make his janizaries ſeize not only on the cavalier, which was abandoned, but likewiſe on all the poſts that were higher than the breach, and which overlooked the inſide of the fort. The beſieged employed this little ſuſpenſion from fighting in dreſſing their wounds, not ſo much for the ſake of preſerving the poor remains of life, as to enable themſelves to fight for ſome moments longer with greater vigour. At eleven in the morning, the Turks returned to the aſſault with new vigour, and the janizaries, who, from the top of the cavalier and the other poſts, commanded the place with their muſkets, pointed out all ſuch perſons as they had a mind to kill. The greateſt part of them periſhed by the enemies fire; the bailiff of Negropont the chevalier Paul Avogadre, La Miranda, together with moſt of the knights and ſoldiers that were left, being over whelmed with numbers, died upon the breach; and this terrible aſſault was diſcontinued only for want of combatants, it not ending but with the death of the laſt knight. The Turkiſh fleet then entered the port of Marza Muzet in a kind of triumph, their cannon firing, their trumpets and other military inſtruments ſounding, and all the infidels ſhouting for joy. Some of Dragut's officers running to his tent to acquaint him with the taking of the fort, found him juſt giving up the ghoſt; but altho' he had loſt his ſpeech, he ſtill expreſſed his ſatisfaction by ſigns; then lifting up his eyes, as it were to give thanks to heaven, he expired a moment afterwards. He was a captain of exquiſite valour, and more humane than corſairs generally are.

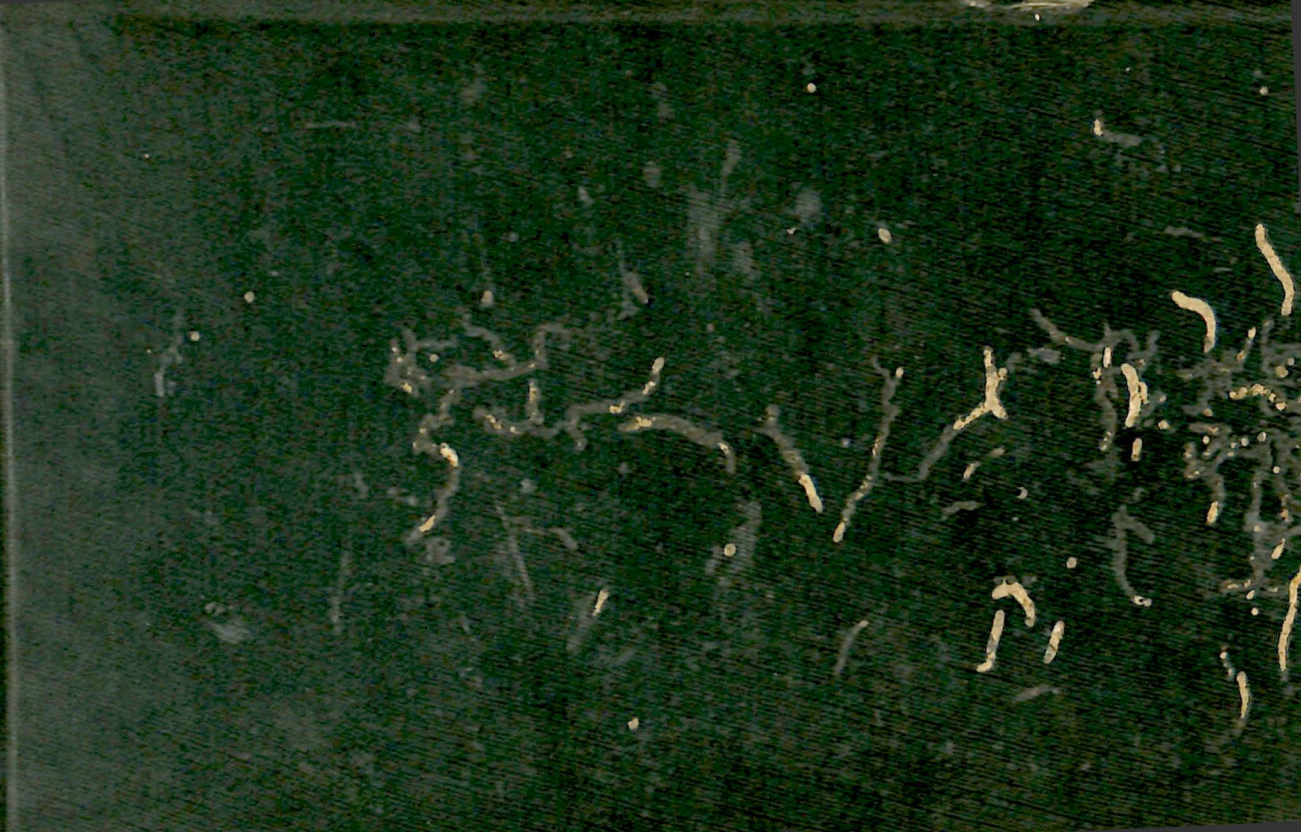
THE baſha entering the fort, and judging from its ſmallneſs, what difficulty he ſhould meet with from the town, cried out, "What will not the father coſt

"us,

"us, when the ſon, who is ſo ſmall, has coſt us the "braveſt of our ſoldiers." Indeed 'tis generally agreed, that the Turks loſt at leaſt 8000 men in the ſiege of this fort, which weakened their army conſiderably. Muſtapha, of a cruel and bloody nature, by way of revenge, and at the ſame time to terrify the knights that were in the town, and the other fortreſſes of the iſland, ordered ſuch as were found lying among the dead, and had ſtill any marks of life left, to be ripped open, and their hearts to be plucked out. To this unexampled piece of barbarity, the baſha, in order to inſult the inſtrument of our ſalvation, which the knights wore as the badge of the order, had gallies made over their body in form of a cross, when putting their ſubreveſts upon them, they tyed them to planks, and threw them into the ſea, hoping, as indeed fell out, that the tide would carry them to the foot of the town, and the caſtle of St. Angelo.

THIS diſmal and ſhocking ſpectacle drew tears from the grand maſter. His firſt ſenſations were thoſe of grief; but his next were thoſe of anger and indignation; in conſequence of which, and by way of reprisals, he, in order to teach the baſha to make war with leſs barbarity, ordered all the Turkiſh priſoners to be immediately executed; and, ramming their heads into his cannon, had them ſhot, all covered with blood as they were, inſtead of ball, into the camp of the infidels.

End of the fourth Volume.

00030810

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016